

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

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Punjab Through the Ages



VOLUME

1

Editors

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This One



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S.R. Bakshi
Rashmi Pathak



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Preface

The Punjab had been the victim of foreign onslaughts from the North-Western regions of Indian sub-continent. The main aim of these invasion was to take advantage of the riches of the people as well as to establish their administration here. But it goes to the credit of the bravery and fearlessness of the people of Punjab that they checkmated these onslaughts and did not allow to tarnish the name of their ancestors. Their bravery indeed has been dealt with in a comprehensive way. Particularly, the role of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is highly appreciable. Thus the Punjab and its people did not lay behind in their acts of administrative capability.

The Punjab Through the Ages have been evaluated into four volumes with comprehensive contents. These volumes deal with the Punjab and NWFP, the historical notes, the land and the people, religions, the clergy, life of Guru Nanak Dev, the misls in various regions of the North-West of the Punjab, military administration, socio-cultural movements in the region, prominent chiefs of the Punjab, Tipu Sultan and his defeat, annexations and political readjustments.

The second volume has surveyed the administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who ruled over Punjab and the adjoining regions for about four decades, the themes covered are the prevailing political condition, ancestors of the Maharaja, emergence of Ranjit Singh at a fairly young age, British interference, the Anglo-Sikh relations, conquests and annexations, consolidation of Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar, the Anglo-Sikhs war and Maharaja Dalip Singh.

The third volume deals with various significant phases of the freedom movement having deep bearing on Punjab and the participation of important persons. The theme commences with the firing in

Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar and ends with the attainment of Independence. Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and other have been highlighted.

The volume four has deep bearing on disturbances, Lord William Bentinck and his administration, era of Lord Dalhousie, Sardar Ajit Singh, socio-cultural movements in the Punjab, rights and duties of human beings, ethics, Guru Granth Sahib and Gems from the Sikh Scriptures.

The theme indeed has been well-knit into fifteen chapters based on the available material from various academic institutions.

All these volumes have been dealt with from various angles, viz, political, social, economic, regional etc. Hopefully, they explain the most significant phases of the Punjab through the ages.

We have collected the material from several academic institutions, viz the Sapru House Library, Indian Council of Historical Research Library, Delhi University Library, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library and Jawaharlal Nehru University Library and we are thankful to the members of these institutions for their kind support during our researches. We have also collected the material from some of the published works of eminent authors in order to fill up the gaps in these volumes. We indeed feel much beholden to these scholars.

Editors

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1

The Punjab and NWFP

1. Historical and Political Importance of the Provinces. The Punjab with its feudatory states and the North-West Frontier Province with its Agencies and Tribal Areas cover an area of 175, 248 square miles and include a population of 28,006,777 souls, or one-tenth of the whole area and one-eleventh of the total population of the Indian Empire. They number among their inhabitants one-fourth of the Muhammedan, one-twentieth of the Hindu, and eleven-twelfths of the Sikh subjects of the King. Occupying the angle where the Himalayas, which shut in the peninsula to the north, meet the Sulaimans which bound it on the west, and lying between Hindustan and the passes by which alone access from the great Asian continent is possible, the old Punjab Province was, in a very special sense, the Frontier Province of India and guarded the gateway of that Empire of which it was the last portion to be won. This description now applies with even greater accuracy to the North-West Frontier Province which was carved out of the Punjab in 1901, its area being increased by the addition of the protected territories which form the Political Agency of Dir, Swat and Chitral. This new Province is thus bounded on the north by the Hindu Kush mountains, which shut it off from the Pamirs, and on the east by the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir and by the Punjab; in the south it is bounded by the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Punjab, and on the west by the kingdom of Afghanistan. Ethnologically indeed it includes the eastern part of the Afghanistan or 'land of the Afghans,' and it is essentially a Pathan or Afghan country. It falls into three main divisions—(i) the cis-Indus District of Hazara, and the trans-Indus

territories of Dir, Swat and Chitral*: (ii) the comparatively narrow strip between the Indus and the Afghan hills which forms the districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan: and (iii) the rugged mountainous regions on the west between those districts and the border of Afghanistan which form the Political Agencies of Waziristan, Southern and Northern, the Kurram and the Khyber. The North-West Frontier Province is ethnologically of great interest and importance to the student of the races of the Punjab, but the materials for its history are scanty and uncertain as compared with those which, imperfect as they are, exist in the case of the Punjab.

Historically the Punjab is of equal importance to the student of Indian ethnology. The great Aryan and Soythian swarms which in successive waves of migration left their arid plateaux for the fruitful plains of India, the conquering armies of Alexander, the peaceful Chinese pilgrhns in search of the sacred scriptures of their faith, the Muhammedan invaders who came, driven by lust of territory and pride of creed, to found one of the greatest Muhammedan empires the world has ever seen, the devastating hordes led successively by Qutlugh, 'Timur, Nadir Shah, and Ahmad Shah, the armies of Babur and of Humayun,—all alike entered India across the wide plains of the five rivers from which the Province of the Punjab takes its name. The great central watershed which constitutes the eastern portion of the Punjab has ever been the battlefield of India. Its eastern valley west of the Jumna was in pre-historic times the scene of that conflict which, described in the Mahabharata, forms the main incident of one of the oldest epics in existence; while in later days it witnessed the struggles which first gave India to the Muhammedans, which in turn transferred the empire of Hindustan from the Lodi Afghan to the Mughal dynasty and from the Mughals to the, Mahrattas, which shook the power of the Mahrattas at Panipat, which finally crushed it at Delhi and made the British masters of Northern India, and which second the Indian Empire in the terrible outbreak of 1857. Within the limits of the Punjab

* See the article Chitral in Volume II. An article on the Kafirs of Kafiristan will also be found in that volume as the Kafirs appear to represent the aboriginal population of the Indus Kohistan and the mountainous territories of Dir, Swat and Chitral. The Kafirs offer many points of resemblance and more of contrast to the Muhammadanised races which have supplanted or converted them.

the Hindu religion had its birth and the most ancient sacred literature in the world was written; and of the two great quietist movements which had their rise in the intolerable nature of the burden laid by the Brahmans upon men's shoulders, Sikhism was born, developed into a military and political organisation, and after a period of decline now flourishes again within that Province; while, if the followers of Buddha are now represented in the Punjab only by a few thousands of ignorant hill-men, it was from the Punjab that sprang the founder of the Gupta dynasty, under whose grandson Asoka the Buddhist religion attained, there as elsewhere, a supremacy such as it never enjoyed either before or since in India.

2. Interest of the Provinces to the Ethnologist. And if the Punjab is historically one of the most important parts of that great eastern empire which has fallen in so strange a manner into the hands of a western race, it yields to no other Province in present interest and variety. Consisting for the most part of the great plains of the five rivers and including some of the most and some of the least fertile tracts of our Indian territories, it stretches up to and beyond the peaks of the Central Himalayas and embraces the Tibetan valleys of Lahul and Spiti; and while on the east it included the Mughal capital of Delhi and the western borders of Hindustan and on the south encroaches on the great desert of Rajputana, on the west it embraces, in its trans-Jhelum territory, a tract which except in respect of geographical position can hardly be said to belong to India. Nor are its inhabitants less diverse than its physical aspects. It does not indeed contain any of the aboriginal tribes of India, at least in their primitive barbarism; and its people, in common with those of neighbouring Provinces, include the peaceful descendants of the old Rajput rulers of the country, the sturdy Jat peasantry which forms the backbone of the village population of North-Western India, and the various races which are allied to them. But the nomad and still semi-civilised tribes of its great, central grazing grounds, the Baloches of its frontier, so distinct from all Indian races, the Khatris, Aroras, Suds, Bhabras and Parachas who conduct its commerce, and the Dogras, the Kanets, the Thakurs and Ghirths of its hills, are almost peculiar to the Province; while the Gakkhars, the Awans, the Kharrals, Kathias, Khattars and many other tribes of the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions present a series of problems sufficiently intricate to satisfy the most ardent ethnologist.

Within the confines of the Province three distinct, varieties of the great Hindi family of languages are to be found, two of them peculiar to the Punjab; while Balochi, Kashmiri, Pashtu, and many of those curious hill dialects which are often not separate languages only because each is confined to the valleys of a single stream, have their homes within its borders, and Tibetan is spoken in the far mountains of Spiti.

3. Interest of the Provinces of the Sociologist. To the student of religion and sociology the Provinces present features of peculiar interest. In the earliest days of Hinduism the people of the Punjab Proper were a bye-word in the mouths of the worshippers of Brahma, and Brahmanism has always been weaker there than perhaps in any other part of India. Neither Islam nor the Hindu religion has ever been able to expel from the lives of the people the customs and superstitions which they brought with them from the homes of their ancestors; and the worship of godlings unknown to the Hindu pantheon, the social customs which still survive in full force among the majority of the nominal adherents of either religion, and the peculiar cults of the inferior and outcast races, offer for investigation an almost virgin field full of the richest promise. In the Punjab hills the Hindu religion and the caste-system to which it gave birth are to be found free in a very unusual degree from alteration by external influences, though doubtless much deteriorated by decay from within. Sikhism must be studied in the Punjab if at all, and among the Bishnois of the Haryana is to be found a curious offshoot from the national religion which is peculiar to them alone. For the inquiry into primitive institutions and the early growth of property in land the Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces afford material of singular completeness and importance. Tribal organisation and tenures are to be found nowhere in India in such primitive integrity as on the western frontier of the latter Province, while in the eastern plains of the Punjab the village communities are typically perfect in their development. Between the two extremes every step in the gradation from one form to the other is exemplified, while in the hills of Kangra and Shimla community of rights, whether based on the tribe or on the village, is unknown.

The Punjab can show no vast cities to rival Calcutta and Bombay; no great factories, no varied mineral wealth; but the

occupations of its people are still not without an interest of their own. The husbandmen of the Punjab furnish to the English market supplies of wheat. The pursuits of the nomad pastoral tribes of the western *doabs* and of the river populations of the Indus and Sutlej, the Powindah traffic of Dera Ghazi Khan and the salt mines of Jhelum are all well worthy of investigation and description; while the silk and *pashm* fabrics and embroideries of Delhi, Ludhiana and Amritsar, the enamels of Multan, the damascening of Sialkot and Gujarat, the pottery of Multan, and the beautiful jewellery and miniature painting of Delhi, have acquired a fame extending far beyond the limits of the Province.

4. Boundaries and Administrative Divisions. The Punjab Province, together with Kashmir which lies to its north and the North-West Frontier Province on its west, occupies the extreme northwestern corner of India. Along its northern borders run the Himalayas which divide it from Kashmir. On its west lies the North-West Frontier Province from which it is separated, broadly speaking, by the Indus river. To its south lies the great Rajputana desert, in which indeed is included a large part of Bahawalpur; while to the east the river Jumna divides it from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

In shape the two Provinces are something between a dice-box and an hour-glass, the axes crossing at Lahore and the longer axis running nearly E. by S. The constriction in the middle is due to the fact that the northern boundary runs up into the hills of Chamba and Kulu in the east and of Hazara in the west; while to the south the Punjab stretches down the fertile banks of the Jumna to the east and the Indus to the west, between which two rivers the arid desert of Rajputana extends northward to within a hundred miles of Lahore.

5. The Punjab includes two classes of territory; that belonging to the British Crown, and that in the possession of the thirty-six feudatory chiefs of the Province, almost all of whom pay tribute in some form or other, and all of whom are subject to a more or less stringent control exercised by the Punjab Government. The area of British territory is 99,779 square miles and its population 19,974,956; the corresponding figures for the collective Native States are 36,551 and 4,212,794. British territory is divided into 29 districts which are grouped under 5 divisions, and each of which, except the sanitarium of Shimla, comprises as large an area and population as can

conveniently be controlled from its headquarters. The dominions of the thirty-six native chiefs vary in size from the principalities of Patiala and Bahawalpur, with areas of 6,000 and 15,000 square miles and populations of 1,407,659 and 780,641 respectively, and ruled over by chiefs subject only to the most general supervision, to the tiny State of Dadhi, with an area of 25 square miles and a total population of 244 souls whose ruler is independent in little more than name.

6. The Himalayan Trace. Along the eastern portion of our northern border, and within the great network of mountain ranges which fringe the central system of the Himalayas, are situated the States of Chamba, Mandi and Suket, with Bashahr and the twenty smaller states which are under the charge of the Superintendent of Hill States at Shimla and Sirmur, while among them lie the hill station of Shimla and the great Kangra District, the latter including the Kulu Valley which stretches up to the mighty range of the mid-Himalayas, and the cantons of Lahul and Spiti which, situated beyond the mid-Himalayas, belong geographically to Ladakh and Tibet rather than to India. This mountainous tract includes an area of some 19,840 square miles, much of which is wholly uninhabited, and a scanty population of about 1,539,000 souls living scattered about the remaining area in tiny hamlets perched on the hill-sides or nestling in the valleys, each surrounded by its small patches of terraced cultivation, irrigated from the streams which run down every gully or fertilised by the abundant rainfall of the hills.

The people chiefly consist of hill Rajputs, including Thakurs, Rathis and Rawats, and of Kanets, Ghirths, Brahmans and the Kolis or Dagsis who are menials of the hills. They are, either by origin or by long isolation from their neighbours of the plains, very distinct from the latter in most respects; and they speak dialects peculiar to the hills, though belonging to the Hindi group except in the trans-Himalayan cantons where Tibetan is spoken. They are almost exclusively Hindus, but curiously strict as regards some and lax as regards others of the ordinances of their religion. The nature of the country prevents the growth of large towns, trade is confined to the little that crosses the high passes which lead into Tibet, and the people are almost wholly rural, supplementing the yield of their fields by the produce of numerous flocks of sheep and goats, and by rude home manufactures

with which they occupy themselves during the long winter evenings. They keep very much to themselves, migration being almost confined to the neighbouring mountains and low hills.

7. The Ethnography of the Eastern Hills. In many respects the most interesting part of the Punjab is that which forms its northeastern corner. In this, the eastern hills, are included the Himalayan area and the Siwalik range which separates it from the plains between the Beas and the Jhelum. Throughout this tract of low hills with wide dales and lofty mountains with deep and remote valleys the ascendancy of a type of Rajput society is well marked, and this part of the Province might almost be called ethnographically the Rajputana of the Punjab, as it has called its Switzerland from its physical characteristics. The hill Rajputs with their subordinate grades, the Ranas, Mians, Rathis and Thakurs, are probably those among all the peoples of the Punjab who have retained their independence longest; and probably a still older element in its population is represented by the Kanets and Kolis, the Gaddis, Ghirths and Chahags or Bahtis who form the mass of its agricultural classes. The Brahman is found disseminated all through this wide tract, and in many parts of the Himalayan area, for instance, in Kangra, Kulu, Chamba and the Shimla Hills he forms a well defined cultivating caste, distinct both from his namesakes who exercise sacerdotal or professional functions on the one hand and from the secular castes on the other. He is not however by any means rigidly endogamous, and the Hindu population of this tract is singularly homogeneous, owing to the fact that hypergamy is the normal rule among and between all the castes which can be regarded as within the pale of Hinduism. The ethnical character of the tract is due to its inaccessibility and remoteness from the lines which foreign inroads into India have always taken. Often invaded, often defeated, the Rajas of the Kangra Hills succumbed for a short period to the Mughals in the reign of Shah Jehan, but they soon threw off the imperial yoke, and it was reserved to Ranjit Singh to annex to his dominions the most ancient principalities in Northern India, and to penetrate into the remoter valley of Kulu. Thus the Kangra Hills are that portion of the Punjab which is most wholly Hindu, not merely by the proportion which the number of real or nominal Hindus bears to the total population, but still more because there has never been any long-

sustained Musalman domination, which should either loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islam in its purity, or tighten them by throwing the still Hindu population, deprived of their Rajput rulers, more wholly into the hands of their priests. It is here then that we might expect to find caste existing most nearly in the same state as that in which the first Muhammedan invaders found it when they entered the Punjab, but it is difficult to say with certainty, as Ibbetson wrote, that here the Brahman and the Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those assigned them by Manu. One is almost tempted to believe that the type of Hindu society still found in this tract preserves an even more archaic organisation than anything described by Manu. The Khatri is indeed found among the Gaddis of Kangra, but he is, if tradition is to be credited, a refugee from the plains, whence he fled to escape Muhammedan persecution. The type of society found in the eastern hills no doubt bears many resemblances to that feudal Rajput system which was evolved, as far as can be seen at present, after the downfall of the Kshatriya domination in the plains of India, but it differs from it in several respects. In this tract we do not find a distinct Rajput caste which disdains all marriage with the cultivating classes, but a Rajput class itself divided into two or three quite distinct grades, the lowest of which accepts brides from the Kanet or Ghirth. The constitution of Rajput society in the Kangra Hills will be found fully described in the article on Rajputs.

The Himalayan canton of Spiti is purely Tibetan by race and Buddhist by religion, while the cantons of British Lahul, Chamba-Lahul, and Kanur in Bashahr are half Indian and half Tibetan, Buddhistic in creed with an ever-thickening varnish of Hinduism.

8. From the borders of Chamba, the westernmost portion of the tract, to the river Jhelum, the frontier between Kashmir and the Punjab lies immediately at the foot of the mountains, which are wholly included in the former; and the eastern hills are the only mountainous portion of the latter Province with the exception of the Salt Range and the country beyond it which adjoins the North-West Frontier Province.

9. The Submontane Tract. Skirting the base of the hills, and including the low outlying range of the Siwaliks, runs a narrow sub-montane zone which includes the four northern tahsils of Ambala with the

Kalsia State, the whole of the Hoshiarpur District, the three northern tahsils of Gurdaspur, tahsils Zafarwal and Sialkot of the Sialkot District, and the northern portion of Gujarat. This submontane tract, secure in an ample rainfall and traversed by streams from the neighbouring hills, comprises some 6680 square miles of the most fertile and thickly-peopled portions of the Province, and is inhabited by a population of about 8,040,000 souls who differ little in race, religion, or language from their neighbours of the plains proper described below in paragraphs 17 to 20. The tract has only one town, Sialkot, of more than 60,000 inhabitants,* its trade and manufactures are insignificant, and its population is almost entirely agricultural and in the low hills pastoral.

10. The Ethnography of the Eastern Submontane. All along the foot of the Siwaliks from Ambala to Gurdaspur the dominant population is Rajput and Jat, interspersed with numerous foreign elements, such as Pathans, a few Mughals, Shaikhs, Awans, Khokhars, and many others. Of these elements all are modern; except the Rajputs and possibly some Jat tribes. But in the eastern part of the Ambala submontane the Jat is certainly a recent invader; and he owes his position in this tract to the Sikh inroads, which once carried the arms of the Khalsa across the Jumna, but only succeeded in permanently establishing a single Jat state of any importance, *viz.*, that of Kalsia in the Ambala District which owes its name to one of the Sikh *misl*s or companies. In this tract the Jat to some extent displaced the Rajput whose most ancient tribes, the Chauhan and Taoni, were dominant in it down to the Mughal period. How old their settlements in this tract may be it is impossible to say, but the Chauhan at least were probably firmly established in the Ambala submontane before the Muhammedan invasions.

Further north beyond the Sutlej the Hoshiarpur submontane is held by Hindu Rajput tribes or Rajput tribes partly converted to Islam. Their settlements undoubtedly owe their origin to feudal grants made by the Hill Rajas to military families under their own leaders as a condition of service against Muhammedan invaders from the plains. They may thus be regarded as outliers of the Hindu Rajput system of

* This includes the Cantonment population.

the Himalayas. As a counterbalance to their power the Muhammedan emperors planted Pathan colonies at a distance of 4 or 5 miles from the Siwaliks in a line stretching from the town of Hariana to the border of the Garhshankar tahsil, and the place-names of the district still mark a considerable number of these settlements, such as Urmur-Tanda, Jahan-Khelan, and Ghilzian.

Upon these irregular lines of opposing forces the Sikh movement launched Jat tribes, but not in any great numbers. The Kanhya and Ramgarhia *misls* obtained large tracts in the north, but in the earlier period of the Sikh risings the Rajput states of the hills often afforded an asylum to the Sikh *gurus* and their followers. At one time the *gurus*, who had sought refuge in the Hill States of Sirmur, Mandi and Nalagarh, might well have hoped to convert their Rajas to the Sikh faith, but as the Sikh power grew in strength the *gurus* visited the Hill States less frequently and were content to establish strongholds at Una and Anandpur in the Jaswan Dun. The Jat movement however did not even penetrate the barrier of the Siwalik, and their subsequent enrichments under Sikh chiefs had little permanent effect. The Jats, whose villages lie scattered all along the foot of the hills from Ambala to Gurdaspur, are not separated by any definite line of demarcation from the Sikh Jats of the Central Punjab to the south-west or from the Jats of the western submontane to the west. Perhaps the only tangible distinction is that the Jats of the eastern submontane are, broadly speaking, Hindus, while those of the western submontane are Muhammedans, and those of the central districts Sikhs, but followers of all these religions are to be found in almost every tribe. In character and position there is nothing to distinguish the three groups, save that those of the eastern submontane never enjoyed the political importance which distinguished the Sikh Jats under the Khalsa. The Jat of this tract cannot be regarded as in any sense *under* the Rajput. The Jat communities are independent of his influence and stand aloof from him. They have no aspirations to be called Rajput or to form matrimonial alliances with men of that caste. Some of the Manj Rajputs of Gurdaspur have no doubt become Jats by status or are called Jats by others, but as a rule the distinction between the two castes is rigidly fixed.

11. The Ethnography of the Western Submontane. Along the western part of the northern border of Gurdaspur, and all along the

Jammu border in Sialkot, Gujranwala and Gujarat, the conditions closely resemble those found in the eastern submontane, but the line of demarcation between Jat and Rajput is fainter. The true Jats, such as the Chima, Varaich and Tarar, are mainly confined to Sialkot and Gujranwala. The typical Rajput tribes are found close under the Jammu Hills and include such interesting communities as the Bajju Rajputs and the Chibhs, with many minor clans towards Gurdaspur. The Jat looks to the south for his affinities in religion and marriage, but the Rajput regards the Jammu Hills with their ancient principalities of Bhimbar, Rajauri and Jammu as his ancient home. And from Jammu and Kashmir the lower castes are also reinforced. Of the Jats of the western submontane Sir Denzil Ibbetson wrote—

“The most extraordinary thing about the group of Jat tribes found in Sialkot is the large number of customs still retained by them which are, so far as I know, not shared by any other people. They will be found described in Mr Roe’s translation of Amin Chand’s *History of Sialkot*,* and I shall mention one or two of them. Nothing could be more instructive than an examination of the origin, practice, and limits of this group of customs. They would seem to point to aboriginal descent. Another point worthy of remark is the frequent recurrence of an ancestor Mal, which may perhaps connect this group of tribes with the ancient Malli of Multan. Some of their traditions point to Sindh, while others are connected with the hills of Jammu. The whole group strikes me as being one of exceeding interest, and I much regret that I have no time to treat it more fully. Further investigation has shown that their customs are more widespread than Sir Denzil Ibbetson thought, not only among the Jats, but among such castes as the Khattris.

12. The Eastern Plains. The remainder of the Punjab, with the exception of the tract cut off by the Salt Range which will be described presently, consists of one vast plain, unbroken save by the wide eroded valleys within which the great Punjab rivers ever shift their beds, and by the insignificant spur of the Aravalli mountain system which runs through the Gurgaon District and the south of Delhi and re-appears in the low hills of Chinot and Kirana in Jhang. A meridian through the city of Lahore divides this wide expanse into two very dissimilar tracts which may be distinguished as the Eastern and the Western

* A work of great value, despite its countless typographical errors.

Plains. East of Lahore the rainfall is everywhere so far sufficient that cultivation is possible without irrigation in fairly favourable seasons; but over the greater portion of the area the margin is so slight that, save where the crops are protected by artificial irrigation, any material reduction in the supply entails distress if not actual famine; and while the Eastern Plains, comprising only a quarter of the area of the Province, include half its cultivation nearly half its population, and almost all its most fertile portions, they also include all those parts which, by very virtue of the possibility of unirrigated cultivation, are peculiarly liable to disastrous failure of crops.

13. Physical Divisions of the Eastern Plains. A broad strip parallel to the submontane zone partakes in a lower degree of its ample rainfall. It is traversed by the upper Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi, the Bari Doab Canal, and many smaller streams which bring down with them and deposit fertilising loam from the lower hills, irrigation from wells is everywhere easy, and the tract is even superior in fertility, security of produce, and populousness to the submontane zone itself. It includes tahsil Ambala and the Thanesar tahsil now in the Karnal district, the northern portions of Patiala and Nabha, the whole of the Ludhiana, Jullundur and Amritsar Districts and of the Kapurthala State, and so much of the Gurdaspur and Sialkot. Districts as is not included in the submontane zone. Its area is some 8600 square miles and the population about, 4,004,207 souls.

14. The next fertile strip is that running along the eastern border of the province parallel to the river Jumna. It enjoys a fair average rainfall, it includes the low riverain tract along the Jumna itself where well irrigation is easy, the Saraswati and its tributaries inundate a considerable area, and much of it is watered by the Agra and Western Jumna Canals, so that it is for the most part well protected against famine. It comprises the whole of the Delhi Division with the exception of the Kaithal and Rewari tahsils of Karnal and Gurgaon, together with the small state of Patandi and the Gohana and Sampla tahsils of the Rohtak District; its area is about 4870 square miles, and its population some 1,727,431 souls.

15. Along the southern border of the tract runs the Hissar District with the small states of Dujana and Loharu, the Muktsar tahsil of Ferozepur, the Rohtak and Jhajjar tahsils of the Rohtak District, the Rewari tahsil

of Gurgaon, and some outlying portions of Patiala, Jind and Nabha. This is the most unfertile portion of the tract. A large part of it skirts the great Rajputana desert, the soil is often inferior, the rainfall always scanty and precarious, while, except in the southeastern corner, where alone wells can be profitably worked, irrigation is almost unknown save where the Western Jumna Canal enters Hissar and the Sutlej borders the Ferozepur District.¹ The area is about 11,570 square miles, and the population about 1,889,000. This and the central portion next to be described are the parts of the Punjab where famine is most to be dreaded.²

16. The remaining or great central portion of the tract includes the greater part of the states of Patiala, Nabha and Jind, the Kaithal tahsil of Karnal, the three northern tahsils of Ferozepur, the two eastern tahsils of Lahore, and the states of Faridkot and Maler Kotla. Its area is some 9980 square miles and its population about 2,735,630. It occupies an intermediate position in respect of fertility between the two preceding tracts, the rainfall generally being highest and the soil best to the east, west and north in the direction of the Jumna, the Sutlej and the hills, and lowest and worst in the centre and south, while to the north-east the Ghaggar system of hill streams inundates a certain area, and well irrigation is practiced along the Sutlej and the northern border.

17. Ethnography of the Eastern Plains. The plains east of Lahore have times been split up into zones of varying fertility by lines running for the most part parallel to the hills. But the boundaries which separate religion, race and language are somewhat different from these. A meridian through the town of Sindh or Sirhind, nearly due north of Patiala and once the capital of a Mughal *Suba*, but razed to the ground by the victorious Sikhs in 1763 in revenge for the assassination of the children of Guru Govind Singh which had taken place there some 60 years before, roughly divides the Punjab Proper from Hindustan and the Panjabi from the Hindi language, and forms the eastern boundary of the Sikh religion. So much of the Punjab plains as lies east of that line, namely, the Delhi, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala and Rohtak Districts, and the States of Kalsia, Jind and Pataudi, differs little if at all in the character of its population from the western districts of the United Provinces. Except in the Rohtak District Jats form a smaller

and Rajputs a larger proportion of the population than in the tract immediately to the west; while Kambohs, Rors and Gujars are numerous in Ambala and Karnal, Tagas in Karnal and Delhi, Ahirs in Rohtak, Delhi and Gurgaon, and Meos and Khanzadas in Gurgaon.

The Hissar District to the south of the tract differs from the districts just mentioned chiefly in that, lying as it does on the confines of Bikaner, the dialect and people are more akin to those of Rajputana than to those of Hindustan, Rajputs being very numerous, and there being a considerable Ahir population. The religion is still Hindu, with a certain admixture of a curious sect called Bishnoi. The Sirsa tract which forms the western portion of the southern border of the tract was all but uninhabited till it came under English rule; and it has drawn its settlers pretty equally from Hindu and Hindi-speaking Hissar and Rajputana and from the Sikh and Panjabi-speaking Jat state of Patiala, while its western portion is occupied by Muhammedan immigrants from the lower Sutlej.

In all the remainder of the tract Panjabi is the language of the people. Immediately below the hills Sikhism has obtained but little hold, and the Hindu element, strong in Hoshiarpur, gradually gives way to the Musalman as we pass westwards through Gurdaspur till it fades into comparative insignificance in Sialkote. But all the centre of the tract, the great Phulkian States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha. The States of Faridkot and Maler Kotla, and the Districts of Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Lahore and Amritsar, and in a less degree of Jullundur and Kapurthala, form the very centre and stronghold of the Punjab Sikhs. Even here however a very large proportion of the population is Musalman, a proportion constantly increasing from east to west; and it is the Hindu element alone which is displaced by the Sikh. In the matter of race the population of this portion of the tract is very uniform, Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, and their allied tribes forming the staple of the agricultural population, largely supplemented by their attendant menials. Among the Siwaliks and immediately under the hills Jats are few and Rajputs and Ghirths numerous, while somewhat further south the proportion of Jats increases and Gujars, Sainis and Arains, and in Kapurthala Kambohs, Mahtons (Mahtams), and Dogras, become important elements in the population. In the Lahore Division, Faridkot, and the Phulkian States the mass of the population is Jat; though in

Lahore, Ferozepur and Faridkot Kambohs and Mahtams, and in Ferozepur Dogras, hold large areas, while in Patiala, Jind and Nabha there is a considerable admixture of Ahirs. The Changars and Sansis of Amritsar and the surrounding districts, the Bawarias of the upper Sutlej, the Rawals of the northern districts and Lahore, and the All of the Delhi Division are curious outcast tribes, some of them probably aboriginal; and as we pass westwards and northwards from Hindustan and Rajputana into the Province, the Bania of the Delhi territory gives place to the Khatri of the central, the Sud of the northern, and the Arora of the Western Punjab.

The tract includes all the most fertile, wealthy and populous portions of the Province, and may be called the granary of the Punjab. Within it lie the three great cities of Delhi, Amritsar, and Lahore, besides a very large proportion of the larger towns; and the population is by comparison with that of the Western Punjab largely urban. Trade and manufactures flourish, while with the exception of the south-westward portions where flocks and herds still pasture in extensive jungles, the greater part of the cultivable area is under the plough.

18. The three most distinctive elements in the population of the eastern plains are the Sikh Jats of the central districts, the Jats, mainly Hindu, of the southeastern districts, and the Rajputs of the country to the west of the Jumna. The so-called Jats of the Salt Range and the Western Punjab possess well marked characteristics of their own, but directly we leave the Salt Range behind us and enter the tract which is under the influence of Lahore and Amritsar, directly in fact we come within the circle of Sikh religious influence as distinguished from the more political influence of the Sikhs, we find the line between Jat and Rajput sufficiently clearly marked. The Jat indeed, here as elsewhere, claims for himself Rajput origin, but a Varaich for instance does not say that he is still a Rajput. He is a Jat and content to be so. The fact is that within the pale of Sikhism Rajputs were at a discount. The equality of all men preached by Guru Govind disgusted the haughty Rajputs, and they refused to join his standard. They soon paid the penalty of their pride. The Jats who composed the great mass of the Khalsa rose to absolute power, and the Rajput who had despised them was the peculiar object of their hatred. Their general policy led them to cut off such poppy-heads as had not sprung from their own seed, and their

personal feeling led them to treat the Rajput, who as a native-born leader of the people should have joined them, and who would if he had done so have been a very important element of additional strength to the cause, with especial harshness. The old Settlement Reports are full of remarks upon the decadence, if not the virtual disappearance, of the Rajput gentry in those districts where Sikh sway was most absolute. Thus the Jats we are considering are far more clearly marked off from the Rajputs than are those of the western plains where everybody is a Jat, or of the Salt Range Tract where everybody who is not an Arab or a Mughal calls himself a Rajput; indeed there is if anything a tendency here to call those Jats who are admitted to be Rajputs further west. Only on the edge of the group, on the common border line of the Sikh tract, the Salt Range, and the great plains, do the Mekan, Gondal, Ranjha and Tarar claim some to be Jats and some to be Rajputs. The first-two were described by Sir Denzil Ibbetson under Rajputs, the last under Jats, but this was more as a matter of convenience than of ethnic classification. The Jat tribes of the Sikh tract are, except perhaps on the confines of the Gujranwala Bar, essentially agricultural, and occupy the same social position as do those of the eastern plains, whom indeed they resemble in all respects. The Jats of the Sikh tract are the typical Jats of the Punjab, including all those great Sikh Jat tribes who have made the race so renowned in recent history. They occupy the central districts of the Punjab the upper Sutlej and the great Sikh states of the eastern plains. All that has been said regarding the absence of any wish on the part of the Jats of the Khalsa to be aught but Jats, applies here with still greater force. A Sidhu claims indeed Rajput origin, and apparently with good reason. But he is now a Sidhu Jat, and holds that to be a prouder title than Bhatti Rajput. The only tribe among this group of which any considerable numbers return themselves as Rajputs are the Virk; and among them this has happened only in Gujranwala, on the extreme outskirts of the tract. These men are the backbone of the Punjab by character and physique as well as by locality. They are stalwart, sturdy yeomen of great independence, industry and agricultural skill, and collectively form perhaps the finest peasantry in India. The Jats of the Sikh tract are essentially husbandmen, and the standard of agricultural practice among those at any rate of the more fertile northern districts is as high as is reached in any portion of the province. Special attention

may be called to the curious traditions of the Bhular, Man, and Her tribes, which claim to be the original nucleus of the Jat caste.

19. The Jats of the South Eastern Plains. The group of Jat tribes, which occupies the Jumna Districts with Jind, Rohtak and Hissar, call themselves Jat not Jat,* and are the same people in every respect as the Jats of the Jumna-Ganges Doab and the lower Jumna valley, differing however in little save religion from the great Sikh Jat tribes of the Malwa; though perhaps the latter, inhabiting as they do the wide unirrigated plains of the central states, are of slightly finer physique than their neighbours of the damper riverain. The eastern Jats are almost without exception Hindu, the few among them who are Musalman being known as Mula or "unfortunate" and dating their conversion almost without exception from an ancestor who was taken as a hostage to Delhi and there forcibly circumcised. Indeed these men were not unfrequently received back into caste on their return from captivity, and their descendants are in this case Hindus, though still known as Mula. Their traditions show them to have come up either from Bikaner and Rajputana, or northwards along the Jumna valley, and very few of them appear to have come from the Punjab to the Jumna. The Jat of Gurgaon indeed still look upon the Raja of Bhartpur as their natural leader, and the fall of Bhartpur made such an impression on their minds that old men still refer to it as the era from which they date events.

The Jat of these parts is, if anything, even a better cultivator than the Sikh Jat; and that chiefly because his women assist him so largely in the field, performing all sorts of agricultural labour, whether light or heavy, except ploughing, for which they have not sufficient strength, and sowing, which is under all circumstances a prerogative strictly confine to the male sex. Directly we leave the southeastern districts and pass into the Sikh tract, women cease to perform the harder kinds of fieldwork, even among the Jats; while in Musalman districts they do not work at all in the fields. So essentially is the Jat a husbandman,

* Or, more accurately, Jatt the double compensating for the loss of the long a. The difference is purely dialectical and to speak of Jats and Jatts are racially distinct, as is done in E.H.I. IV, p. 240, is absurd and misleading. The Muhammedan peasantry of the Punjab are not necessarily Jots or Jats though many Jats and Jatts are Muhammedans.

and so especially is he *the* husbandman of these parts, that when asked his caste he will quite as often reply *zamindar* as Jat, the two names being in that sense used as synonymous. The social standing of the Jat is that which the Gujar, Ahir, and Ror enjoy; in fact these four castes eat and smoke together. They stand at the head of the castes who practise *karewa* or widow-marriage, a good deal below the Rajput, but far above the castes who grow vegetables, such as Arain and Mali. If the social scale is regulated by the rules of the Hindu religion they come below Banias who are admittedly better Hindus. But the manly Jat despises the money-grubbing Bania, and all other castes and tribes agree with him.

In the extreme southeastern corner of the Punjab the Jats who have come in from the north and west, from Rajputana and the Punjab, are known as Dhe, to distinguish them from the original Jat tribes of the neighbourhood who are collectively called Hele, the two sections abstaining from intermarriage and having in some respects different customs. In Sirsa again, that meeting place of races, where the Bagri Jat from the Bikaner prairies, the Sikh Jat from the Malwa, and the Musalman Jat from the Sutlej valley, meet the Jat of Hissar, the last are distinguished as Desi and the Musalman Jats as Pachhade or western; but these terms appear to be unknown to the people in their respective homes. There the superiority of the Sikh and Desi Jat over the stunted Bagri and the indolent enervated Jat of the Sutlej is most strikingly apparent.

There is an extraordinary division of the Jats of Delhi, Rohtak, and Karnal, and indeed of the other land-owning castes who have for the most part taken the one side or the other, into two factions known as Dehia and Haulania. The following passage from Sir Denzil Ibbetson's *Settlement Report* of Karnal and Panipat describes these factions—

“The Dehias are called after a Jat tribe of that name, with its headquarters about Bhatganw in Sunpat, having originally come from the Bawana near Delhi. The Haulania faction is headed by the Ghatwal or Malak Jats, whose headquarters are Dher-ka-Ahulana in Gohana, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Rajputs, the accepted beads of the Jats in these parts. Some one of the emperors called them into assist him in coercing the Mandahar Rajputs, and thus

the old enmity was strengthened. The Dehia Jats, growing powerful, became jealous of the supremacy of the Ghatwals and joined the mandahars against them. Thus the country-side was divided into two factions; the Gujars and Tagas of the tract, the Jaglan Jats of *thapa* Naultha, and the Latmar Jats of Rohtak joining the Dehias, and the Huda Jats of Rohtak and most of the Jats of the tract except the Jaglans joining the Haulanias. In the Mutiny, disturbances took place in the Rohtak District between these two factions, and the Mandahars of the Nardak ravaged the Haulanias in the south of the tract. And in fracturing my *sails* I had to alter my proposed division so as to separate a Dehia village which I had included with Haulanias, and which objected in consequence. The Dehia is also called the Jat and occasionally the Mandahar faction. Even Sir H. Elliott seems to have been unaware of the existence of these factions. The Jats and Rajputs seem Independently of these divisions, to consider each other, tribally speaking, as natural enemies; and I have often been assured by Jats, though I do not believe it, that they would not dare to go into a Rajput village at night.'

Mr. Maconachie quoted a Delhi tradition which makes two brothers from Rajputana called Mom and Som the respective ancestors of the Haulania Rajputs of the Doab and the Haulania Jats of Rohtak.

Here again, in the southeastern districts the distinction between Jat and Rajput is definite and well-marked, the Jat nearly always practising and the Rajput almost always abstaining from *karewa*; though Ibbetson did not think that here a family could raise itself from the former to the latter caste by discontinuing the custom, as would appear to be possible elsewhere.

20. The Rajput of the Eastern Districts. The Rajput tribes of this tract are divided into two groups. All but the last four are almost confined to the Delhi territory, at least as Rajputs proper, and are roughly arranged in order from north to south down the Jumna valley, and then westwards through Rohtak and Hissar. The last four tribes carry on the series through Patiala, Ferozepur and Gujranwala, and connect the Rajputs of the eastern with those of the western plains. He first group belongs chiefly to the great royal families of the Rajputs who, occupying the Delhi territory, have not as a rule superseded their old tribal designation by a local name, as has been so often the case

in the west of the Punjab. The great majority of them are descendants of the Tunwar and Chauhan dynasties of Delhi. Their local distribution is fairly well marked, the Tunwar lying to the north-west of the first group, and shutting off the Jat tribes of the central plains from the Rajputs of the Delhi territory, their line being broken only by the Chauhan colony on the Ghaggar of the Hissar border. Next to them come the Chauhan, Mandahar and Pundir of the Kurukshetr, and the Rawat, Gaurwa, Bargujar and Jadu of Delhi and Gurgaon followed by the Jatu, themselves. Tunwar, and the Bagri of Hissar. The Punwar colony of Rohtak is an offshoot of the Punwars of the western plains. The Jats of this tract are very largely if not wholly true Jats, who preserve strong traditions as to the Rajput tribes from which they claim to be descended. The Rajput of these parts is a true Rajput. Living in the shadow of Delhi, the capital of his ancestral dynasties, he clings to the traditions of his caste. He cultivates largely, for little other occupation is left him; but he cultivates badly, for his women are more or less strictly secluded and never work in the fields, while he considers it degrading to actually follow the plough, and will always employ hired ploughmen if he can possibly afford it. He is a great cattle-grazier and as great a cattle-thief. His tribal feeling is strong, and the heads of the village or local group of villages have great influence. He is proud, lany, sometimes turbulent, but generally with something more of the gentleman about him than we find in the more rustic Jat.

21. The Western Plains. The great plains lying to the west of the Lahore meridian present a striking contrast to those to the east of that line. They form the common terminus of the two Indian monsoons, which have exhausted themselves of their vapour before they reach their goal; and the rainfall, heaviest in the north and east and decreasing towards the west and south, is everywhere so scanty that cultivation without irrigation is absolutely impossible. But in this very circumstance they find their security against famine or distress from drought; for their cultivation is almost independent of rain, a failure of which means little worse than a scarcity of grass, in itself a sufficiently serious calamity.³ In many parts, indeed, more danger is to be anticipated from excessive floods than from deficient rainfall. The tract is traversed throughout its length by five great rivers, the Sutlej, Ravi, Chenab, Jhelum and Indus; and along either side of each

of these runs at a distance of a few miles a more or less distinctly marked bank, which defines the excursions of the river within recent times as it has shifted from side to side in its course. These banks include between them strips of low-lying land which are periodically inundated by the rising floods as the winter snows of the Himalayas melt under the summer sun, or in which the nearness of the sub-soil water makes well-irrigation easy. All outside these narrow boundaries is a high arid plain. Beyond the Indus, and between the Sutlej and the Jhelum and its continuation in the Chenab, it consists of soil which, wherever, water is available, is sufficiently fertile save where north of the Sutlej that saline efflorescence which has so puzzled geologists clothes the surface for miles together like a recent fall of snow. But between the Indus and the Jhelum-Chenab and south of the Sutlej it is covered by great parallel lines of rolling sand separated by narrow hollows in which the original soil is exposed.

The Gujranwala and Wazirabad tahsils of the Gujranwala District⁴ secure a fair amount of rain by their vicinity to the hills. Numerous streams, for the most part of intermittent flow, which run down from the Sulaiman mountains to join the Indus, and innumerable small inundation canals carried out from the Sutlej, the Lower Chenab, the Upper Jhelum, and the Lower Indus across the zone of well-irrigation into the edges of the central steppes render cultivation possible along their courses; while wells sunk in the long hollows of the Thal or sandy desert and the drainage of the Bar or stiff loam uplands collected in local depressions perform a similar office. But though some of the finest wheat in the world is grown on the wells of the western Thal, the proportion of the area thus brought under the plough is wholly insignificant. The remainder of the tract is covered by low stunted bush and salsolaceous plants and with short grass in good seasons. Over this range great herds of camels which thrive on the saline herbage, and of cattle, sheep and goats. They are tended by nomad population which moves with its flocks from place to place as the grass is consumed and the scanty supply of, water afforded by the local hollows exhausted, or in search of that change of diet which camels love and the varying local floras afford. The tract includes the whole of the Multan Division and the State of Bahawalpur, the Districts of Shahpur and Gujranwala, the greater part of Gujarat, and

the two western tahsils of Lahore.⁴ Its area is some 60,870 square miles or more than two-fifths of that of the whole province, while its population, numbering about 4,885,000 souls, includes little more than one-fifth of the people of the Punjab, and it comprises not one-quarter of the total cultivated area.

22. Natural Divisions of the Western Punjab. It is the fashion to describe the Punjab Proper as marked off by its rivers into six great Doabs which constitute the natural divisions of the province. This description is true in a sense; but the sense in which it is true possesses but little significance, and its chief merit seems to be that it can easily be verified by reference to a map. To the east of the Lahore meridian such rivers as there are lie close together, the whole of the country between and beyond them is comparatively populous, and there are no natural boundaries of any great importance. But west of that meridian, or throughout the greater portion of the Punjab Proper, the real obstacles to inter-communication, the real barriers which separate that peoples one from another are, not the rivers easily crossed at any time and often fordable, in the cold weather, but the great arid steppes which lie between those rivers. The advance of the agricultural tribes has followed almost invariably the courses of the great rivers, the newcomers having crept along both banks of the streams and driven the nomads from either side into the intermediate Doabs, where they have occupied the portions nearest the river lands from which they had been ejected, leaving the median area of greatest aridity as an intangible but very effectual line of separation.

23. Ethnography of the Western Plains. Between the Sulaimans and the great sandy deserts of Bahawalpur and the Sindh-Sagar Doab⁵ the dominant race is Baloch. Descending from the hills this Iranian people overcame a miscellaneous collection of tribes which, still forming a very large proportion to the population, have been included by their conquerors under the semi-contemptuous term of Jat—here an occupational as much as an ethnological designation—till they have themselves almost forgotten their original race. In the remainder of the tract the divisions of the people are rather tribal than racial, the great majority of them being Jats and Rajputs, or belonging to races, perhaps in some cases of aboriginal origin, which can now no longer be distinguished from them. In Gujarat the importance of the Gujar

element is indicated by the name of the district, while Sayyids are numerous to the south-west. The number of clans into which the people of these great plains are divided is enormous. The Daudpotra, Joiya, Wattu, Dogar and Mahtam of the Sutlej, the Kharral and Kathia of the Ravi, the Sial and Khokhar of the Chenab, and the Khokhar and Tiwana of the Jhelum, are some of the most important. The curious river-tribes of the Sutlej and Indus, the Jhabel, Kehal and Kutana, also present many interesting features. The Indus Pathans and a certain proportion of the Baloches speak their national Pashtu and Balochi. The remaining population of Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan and Bahawalpur speak Jatki, a language holding an intermediate position between Panjabi and Sindhi. Panjabi is the speech of the remainder of the tract. The population is essentially Muhammedan, the proportion being largest on the west and smallest to the east and south. Multan is the only town of just upon 100,000 inhabitants, and the population is very markedly rural. There is no manufacture of importance, and the important *Powindah* traffic between India and the countries to the west only passes through the tract on its way to the commercial centres of Hindustan. Pastoral pursuits occupy a more important position than in the rest of the Punjab, agricultural produce being largely supplemented by clarified butter, wool, hides and barilla.

24. The Salt Range Tract. There still remains to be described the northwestern corner of the Punjab. Situated in the angle occupied by the Salt Range and separated from the rest of the province by the upper Jhelum, it includes the Districts of Attock, Rawalpindi and Jhelum. It presents in almost every respect the strongest possible contrast with the Punjab Proper, and indeed, as has already been remarked, can hardly be said to belong to India save by mere geographical position. The outer Himalayas, crossing the Jhelum, run up the eastern boundary of the Rawalpindi District and cut off the Murree and part of the Kahuta tahsils. There they and the mid-Himalaya meet on the banks of the Indus in a confused mass of mountains. The curved ranges which connect the extremities of the mid-Himalayas with the Safed Koh by the Salt Range which, starting from opposite the point where the mid-Himalayas abut upon the Jhelum, runs along the right bank of the river through the south of the Jhelum and the north of the Shahpur District, crosses the Indus in the north of Mianwali, and turning down the right

bank of the Indus through the latter District, enters the North-West Frontier Province and follows the boundary between Barnu and Dera Ismail Khan till it joins the Sulaimans. Rising abruptly from the river and the great desert which lie to the south of it, the Salt Range of Jhelum and Shahpur falls away imperceptibly to the north into a great table-land enclosed by the range itself, the Hazara hills, and the river Indus, crossed in every direction by chains of low hills, and cut up by the streams which issue from them into innumerable ravines. It is this table-land which constitutes the Districts of Jhelum and Rawalpindi.

REFERENCES

1. A certain area is also inundated by the precarious floods of the lower Ghaggar.
2. But the Sirhind Canal opened in 1882 protects a large part of the central and some portion of the southern tract.
3. Rain, of course, is needed here as elsewhere. But its absence means only a diminished yield, and not none at all; and so little is sufficient if the fall comes at the right time, and absolute drought occurs so seldom, that the crops may be said never to fail from this cause.
4. In physical characteristics parts of Gujranwala, Gujarat and Lahore belong rather to the northern portion of the eastern plains; but as they lie west of the Lahore meridian and their area is small, they have been included in this tract of which they form the northeastern corner.
5. The Sindh-Sagar Doab lies between the Indus and the Jhelum and Chenab.

2

Historical Notes

No attempt will be made in this compilation to give a history of the Punjab in the ordinary sense of that term, but the following notes are intended to sum up from the imperfect and fragmentary data at present available, all that is known of the ancient political and ethnic conditions of the Punjab and North-West Frontier—

PRE-HISTORY

In the domain of the pre-history nothing has been done for the Punjab and probably very little will ever be found possible of achievement. Its plains were formed of vast alluvial deposits which must have concealed all pre-historic remains beyond-hope of recovery, save by some lucky accident and the physical features of the hills are rarely favourable to their preservation.

The Stone Age has left its traces in India, but palaeolithic relics are mostly localised in the South, while the neolithic artifacts are much more widely spread. The distribution of the latter is naturally influenced by the prevalence of rocks suitable for their manufacture. Neolithic implements are found over the greater part of Southern India, but instances of their occurrence in the Punjab, Rajputana, and Sind, except at Rohri, are rare. Some finds of pre-historic pottery in Balochistan are tentatively considered to be neolithic.

The first use of iron in Northern India must be carried back to a very remote antiquity. The literary evidence indicates its introduction into the North-West subsequently to the composition of the *Reg Veda* but before the *Atharva Veda* was written and the latter work is not later than 1000 B.C. Before that date copper occupied the place of

iron. All the Indian implements discovered are certainly of extreme antiquity and must be dated back to before 1000 B.C.

At two sites in Balochistan implements of practically pure copper have been found. At Mathura, east of the Jumna, Cunningham excavated a flat copper celt and copper harpoon heads are said to have been frequently found in its vicinity. At Kohistan Hill and Tank, probably not very far from Gwadar, in Western Balochistan, copper arrow heads have been discovered. These and other finds in Northern India carry the range of copper implements all over that area from the Hugli on the east to the Indus on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas to the Cawnpore district, but no specimens from the Punjab have been recorded.

Thus, India as a whole had no Bronze Age.¹ In Southern India the neolithic period passed directly into that of iron, but in Northern India a Copper Age intervened between the neolithic period and the Iron Age. The South was severed from all intercourse with the North, and in 700 B.C. Panini, who was born at Salatura, (Lahor) in the Peshawar valley, knew nothing of the South, but about that time the intrusive northern races began to penetrate the broad and nearly impassable barrier of forest which then covered the natural defences of the Vindhians and their associated races.

THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT

Is there any Dravidian element in Northern India? The problem is a difficult one. A Dravidian speech survives among the Brahui of Balochistan, but none is traceable in the Punjab. The question not only remains insoluble but raises further and larger questions. Sten Konow has detected some resemblances between Dravidian and the remains of the Etruscan language², but Prof. Jules Marthas, the latest writer on this subject, says nothing of this theory and regards Etruscan as a branch of the Finno-Ugrian group of languages.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE VEDIC CULTURE

Scholars are divided in opinion as to the probable date of the rise or introduction of the Vedic culture into India, and the Aryan invasions may date back to a period as remote as 3000 B.C. or even earlier, but it is certain that the 15th century B.C. saw chiefs in northern

Mesopotamia bearing Aryan names or worshipping Vedic deities, and this fact lends some support to Kennedy's view that the Aryan conquest of the Punjab can scarcely have taken place before 1700 B.C. and may well have been a century or two later.³ Sten Konow accepts this view and points out that it is consistent with the linguistic evidence.

THE IRANIAN DOMINION

As we shall see presently the great Persian empire which was overthrown by Alexander the Great had established its power on the confines of the Western Punjab and deputed a Greek to explore or survey the Indus. These facts point to a strong Iranian influence over India centuries after the pre-historic Aryan invasions, and Farishta's *History of the Muhammadans in India* preserves many traditional details of the Iranian dominion over the North-West Frontier of India and the Punjab and the present writer wishes to invite special attention to his *Chapter on the Hindoos*. What Farishta tells us has not received the attention it deserves. He is a careful historian and his statements appear to be founded on authorities, lost to us, but trustworthy, and to be handled by him in a critical spirit. For instance he is quite sound in his account of the origin of the Rajputs.⁴ As he says the Brahman and Kshatriya existed from time immemorial, but the Rajputs are only known since the beginning of the Kaliyuga. They attained power after Vikramajit's demise, something more than 1600 years ago (when he wrote) and he derives their origin from the children of *rajas* by female slaves, the sons of Raja Suraj being the first to bear the title of Rajput.

The history of Raja Suraj is closely connected by him with that of Persia. He makes Krishna⁵, elected king by the people of Behar, contemporary with Tahmorasp⁶ of Persia. Krishna's eldest son Maharaja succeeded him and divided the people of India into tribes (P castes). He named the (Rajput) tribes Rahtor, Chauhan, Punwar, Bais, etc. after the chiefs of each. He kept up a friendly intercourse with Persia, but his nephew Dongur Sain sought refuge with Faridun of Persia and the latter king despatched a force under his son Kurshasp⁷ to invade the Punjab, and Maharaja was compelled—to cede a part of his kingdom—doubtless a part or the whole of the Punjab—to Dongur Sain. Passing by the interesting statement that the islands of Acheen, Malacca, Pegu and the Malabar coast broke away from his

empire, Farishta tells us that it was simultaneously threatened by an attack on its north-west frontier and that Maharaja was compelled to send his lieutenant Mal Chand of Malwa⁸ to defend the Punjab but was obliged to cede it to Persia. Some writers, adds Farishta, say that Faridun even possessed the Punjab and that the descendants of his son Kurshasp held it together with Kabul, Tibet, Sind and Nimroz down to the time of Rustum, *i.e.* for four generations.

Farishta's account may have to be supplemented from the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. When Faridun had deposed the sorcerer Zuhak he despatched an army to dispossess Bustam who held the dominion of Hindustan at the hand of Zuhak whose descendant he was, and Bustam retreated into Shignan and Bamian and eventually devoted his energies to the colonization of the mountains of Ghor. He made peace with Faridun and the Arab tribes akin to Zuhak took up their abode in those mountainous tracts, and from him Muhammad of Ghor claimed descent.

Maharaja, after a reign of 700 years, was anceded by Kesu Rai who invoked the aid of Manuchahr against the Rajas of Southern India Sam⁹, son of Nariman, was sent to his assistance and they joined forces at Jalandhar in the Punjab. The allies compelled the recalcitrant rulers to pay homage to Kesu Rai. Manir Rai, son of Kesu Rai, succeeded him in Oudh, but he forgot his debt to Persia and when the Turk, Afrasiab, king of Turan, invaded that kingdom, he wrested the Punjab from Zal¹⁰, the son of Sam, and made Jalandhar his capital. He acknowledged fealty to Afrasiab and it remained in his possession till Kaikobad deputed Rustum, son of Zal, to reconquer it. Rustum expelled Manir Rai and placed Suraj, a Hindu chief, on the throne. He gave his sister's daughter to Rustum, and died after a reign of 250 years! Of his 35 sons Bhai Raja, the eldest, succeeded, and some say that he invested his brothers with the title of Rajput. But he abandoned the regulations established by Maharaja and incurred the enmity of Kidar, a Brahman of the Siwalik mountains. Here Farishta or his translator must be alluding to the Siwalik kingdom—Sapada-laksha. Kidar defeated him and took his kingdom, but had to pay tribute to his contemporaries Kai-Kaus¹¹ and Kai-Khusrau.

Farishta's account now becomes confused. Afrasiab re-appears on the scene. He confers the Government of India on Rohat, son of

Sankal Raja¹² of Lakhnauti or Gaur in Bengal, but Rohat dying without issue Maharaja II, a Kachwaha Rajput of Marwar, places himself on the throne and his nephew Kidar wrests the Punjab from Rustum's descendants. He lived for sometime in Bohera (? Bhera), but built the fortress of Jammu where he left Durga, the Bulhas¹³, one of his kinsmen, in charge, but Durga allied himself with the Khokars¹⁴ and Chaubea¹⁵, 'the ancient Zamindars of the Punjab,' and with the hill people between Kabul and Kandhar and expelled Kidar Raja from the Punjab.

These tribes, hitherto separate, now formed a single powerful state and Farishta imagined them to be those now called Afghans, though he quotes no authority for his theory. After Kidar's death Jai Chand usurped the throne. He was contemporaneous with Bahman and Darab. Dahla his brother¹⁶ usurped the throne and founded Delhi. He was however attacked by P'hur, and Raja of Kumaun¹⁷, and taken prisoner. P'hur refused to pay the Persian tribute and opposed the inroad of Alexander, according to the 'the Brahminical and other historians.' After P'hur's death Sansar Chand (Chandragupta) made himself master of India, but sent tribute to Gudarz¹⁸, king of Persia, until Juna, nephew of P'hur, regained the throne. He was a contemporary of Ardashir Babegan¹⁹ who invaded India but was induced by Juna's presents of gold and elephants to stay his advance on the frontier. Juna reigned at Kanauj and was succeeded by his son Kalian Chand.

Farishta now turns to the history of Malwa. He makes Vikramajit Punwar also a contemporary of Ardashir Babegan²⁰, but notes that other make him contemporary with Shapur.²¹ He lost his life in a battle with Shalivahana, a Raja of the deccan, and from his death the Hindus date one of their eras.

Malwa then fell to Raja Bhoj, also a Punwar, while one Vasdeo (Vasudeva) seized the 'province' of Kanauj. During his reign Bairamgor²², king of Persia, visited Kanauj in disguise²³, but was recognised by the Indian ambassador who had carried tribute to Persia, and so Vasudeva seated Bairamgor on his throne, gave him his daughter in marriage and escorted him back to Persia. Vasudeva left 32 sons, but his throne was usurped by Ramdeo Rahtor, who expelled the Kachwahas from Marwar and established the Rahtors in that

province. He also extorted tribute from the *rajas* of Siwalik, after subduing the Raja of Kumaun, and plundered Nagarkot. Thence he marched on Jammu, and though its Raja opposed him in the woods he was eventually defeated. The fort of Jammu fell and Ramdeo secured a daughter of the Raja²⁴ for one of his sons.

Ramdeo, says Farishta, was contemporary with the Sassanian Firoz²⁵, and to him and his son Kaikobad²⁶ tribute was paid by India. After Ramdeo's death civil war again ensued, and his general, Partab Chand, a Sisodia, seized the throne. He refused the Persian tribute and Naushirwan's ambassador returned empty-handed²⁷, so Persian troops invaded Multan and the Punjab. Partab Chand submitted and paid the annual tribute thenceforth without demur. After his death each of his generals seized a province. Of these Anand Deo, a Bais Rajput, was the most powerful, but his power did not extend apparently over the Punjab.²⁸ He lived in the era of Khusrau Parvis²⁹ and died after a reign of 16 years. At this time, says Farishta, a Hindu, named Maldeo, collected a force in the Doab and seized Delhi and Kanauj, but he left no son fit to succeed him and civil war ensued everywhere on his death. After him no single *raja* ruled over India, and Mahmud of Ghazni found it divided thus—

Kanauj, held by Kuwar Rai.

Mirath, held by Hardat Rai.

Mahavan³⁰, held by Gulchandr Rai.

Lahore, held by Jaipal, son of Hatpal.

In 1079 Ibrahim bin Masa'ud I Ghaznavi having extended his conquests to Ajudhan (now Pak Pattan) returned to Rudpal—a fort on the summit of a steep hill. Thence he marched to Dera, whose inhabitants had originally come from Khorassan, having been banished thence for frequent rebellions. They had formed themselves into a small independent state, and cut off by nearly impassable mountains from intercourse with their neighbours, had preserved their ancient, customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. Dera was well fortified and remarkable for a fine fort about a parasang and a half in circumference. The Muhammedans took it and carried off 100,000 persons into captivity.³¹

This closes Farishta's account, but in this connection Mr. Vincent Smith may be quoted. After the decay of the Kushan power, as he

points out, coins of Vasudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away, and ultimately present the royal figure clad in the garb of Persia and manifestly imitated from the effigy of Sapor (Shahpur I), the Sassanian monarch who ruled Persia from 238 to 269 A.D. Bahram (Varahran) II is also known to have conducted a campaign in Sistan between 277 and 294; and 'two great paramount dynasties, the Kushan in Northern India and the Andhra in the Deccan tableland, disappear together almost at the moment when the Arsakidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events were in some way connected, and that the Persianizing of the Kushan coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion.³² But Farishta appears to preserve the records of the revival of Persian influence during the period which elapsed between the overthrow of the Kushan power and the Muhammedan inroads.

The theory of the predominance of the Iranian element in North-western India is confirmed by the thesis advanced by Sten Konow that in Bashgali, which may be taken as the type of the language of the Siahposh Kafirs of Northern Kafiristan, we have a dialect derived from an ancient Iranian dialect which had retained the Aryan *s* and not changed it to *h*. We also know of the existence of such a language, spoken by tribes who in the 14th century B.C., worshipped gods such as Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Nasatyas.³³

The latest, view is that the Kambojas were an Iranian tribe. Both Brahmanic and Buddhistic literature refers to their fine breed of horses. The Nepalese tradition may be due to the fact that the early Tibetan mode (or one of the Tibetan modes) of disposing of the dead was similar to the Iranian, but exposure of the dead to be devoured by birds is a fairly widespread practice and does not prove identity of race in those who practice it. The Kambojas seem to have esteemed it a sacred duty to destroy noxious or Ahramanic creatures, as did the Iranians, but such a belief would not be proof of racial identity. The Iranian affinities of the Kamboja are however accepted by Kuhn, G.K. Nariman and Zimmer.³⁴

But, however strong may have been the Iranian element in the population of the Hindu Kush and on the north-western frontier many indications show that it was not advanced in civilisation. The tribes

which occupied the modern Kafiristan, Gilgit and Chitral were called Pisacha or 'eaters of raw flesh,' and traditions of ritual cannibalism still survive among the Shins of Gilgit, the Wai and Bashgal Kafirs and in Dardistan.³⁵ Indeed the Dards of Gilgit had a reputation among the Kashmiris for cannibalism as late as 1866. It must, however, be pointed out that very similar legends of ritual cannibalism are very common all the world over and that cannibalism was supposed to exist in Muzaffargarh as late as 1850. The Romasa or shaggy and the Sringtonara or horned men are mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as if they occupied the same seats as the Madrakas and Pahlavas³⁶, and if so they must have been settled in the plains or atleast in the sub-montane.

On the other hand the Iranian element may have been a highly civilizing influence, bringing Zoroastrian ideas into the Punjab plains and the hills on their western frontier, but unable to penetrate the Indus Kohistan and Hindu Kush to their north. In the present state of our knowledge the evidence is accumulating but it is at present fragmentary and conflicting. The question of Zoroastrian influences on Indian religions and religious art is now being raised for the first time and is noticed briefly below.

SUMMARY

It is now necessary to hark back and discuss the condition of the Punjab prior to and after the episode of Alexander's invasion.

Of the sixteen States of Northern India enumerated in the most ancient literary traditions³⁷ atleast four and possibly five lay, in whole or in part, within the modern Punjab or on its frontiers. These were—

- (i) Gandhara³⁸, which included the modern Districts of Peshawar, Attock and Rawalpindi. It appears to have derived its name from the Gandhara tribe which is mentioned as holding with the Yavanas the Kabul valley and the regions still further west. The Persian satrapy of Gandaria was distinct from those of India Arachosia (Kandahar) and Aria (Herat). It comprised the North-Western Punjab. Its capital was at one time Takshasila, but at others Pushkalavati.
- (ii) Kamboja, which adjoined Gandhara, and lay in the extreme north-west, with Dwaraka as its capital.³⁹ Mr. Vincent

Smith, however points out that Kambojadesa is the name applied in Nepalese tradition to Tibet.⁴⁰ Dwaraka may be the Darva of Darvabhisara. *i.e.* Darva and Abhisara, the whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Jhelum and the Chenab, including the modern Rajauri. But this would make Kamboja too far to the east to be in agreement with Rhys Davids view.

- (iii) Kuru, held by the Kurus, with its capital at Indraprastha, close to Delhi.
- (iv) South of the Kurus and west of the Jumna lay the Matsya or Macchas, possibly represented by the modern Meos of the Mewat.
- (v) The Surasenans, whose capital Madhura (doubtless Mathra) was in the Jumna valley and who thus lay immediately north-west⁴¹ of the Macchas and west of the Jumna.

In addition to the great cities mentioned above we find Sagala, probably the modern Sialkot, described as the capital of the Maddas.

Professor Rhys Davids has called attention to the fact that the earliest Buddhist records reveal the existence, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of small aristocratic republics, with either complete or modified independence, in the 6th and 7th centuries B.C. When Buddhism arose there was no paramount sovereign in India, but four great monarchies existed in north-east India. None of these, however included, or even adjoined, the Punjab, and the countries held by the Kurus, Matsyas and Surasenans did not upon ently form kingdoms, but were doubtless rather tribal confederacies, bosely organised and with ever-changing boundaries, like the Mewat of Bhattiana of more recent times. At the time of Alexander's invasion these conditions had undergone little change, though the tendency to form kingdoms had become more marked. The Macedonian invaders found the Indus the boundary between India and the Persian empire.

Somewhat later Persian influence began to make itself felt in the north-west frontiers of India, and in 516 B.C. Skylax, a Carian Greek, explored the Indus under Darius' orders. Sailing from Kaspapyros⁴², a city of the Gandharians, in the *Paktmike ge'* (the land of the Paktyes) he made his way down that river to the ocean, and his surveys enabled Darius to annex the Indus valley. The Persians formed the conquered

territory into an Indian satrapy, which extended from Kalabagh to the sea, and perhaps included territories on the east bank of the Indus. It certainly excluded Gandaria and Arachosia (Kandahar).

Elsewhere, in the territories not included in the Indian satrapy, the conditions described above had undergone little change, though the tendency to crystallise into organised monarchies had become decidedly more marked in the northern or submontane tracts of the Punjab. Peukalaotis (Pushkalavati, the capital of Gandhara), the capital of a tract (also so called after it), which corresponds to the present Yusufzai country, was overrun by Alexander's generals, who were accompanied by Omphis 'Taxiles,' the king or feudatory chief of 'Taxila'.⁴³ Alexander himself advanced from near Jalalabad into Bajaur by the Kunar valley. In Bajaur he encountered the powerful Aspasians, and took Nysa, a town and hill—state which probably lay on the lower spurs of the Koh-i-Mor. Thence he crossed the Gouraios (Panjkora) and attacked Mussaga, perhaps Manglaur, the old capital of Swat, in Assakenian territory. This was followed by the capture of Aornos.⁴⁴

Although no part of these provinces has, as far as can be learnt from historical records, undergone less change than the hill tracts to the north of Peshawar, hardly a certain trace of Alexander's conquests remains. The tribes mentioned in the histories of his invasion have disappeared, and the cities he captured cannot, in any one case, be identified with any certainty. Yet the social system remains much the same—a loose congeries of tribes under nominal chiefs who are known by territorial names.

Crossing the Indus, probably at or near Und or Ohind, Alexander advanced to Taxila, whose ruler was then at war with Abisares, the ruler of Darva and Abhisara, the whole tract of the lower and middle hills, lying between the Jhelum and the Chenab, and which included Rajauri. Abisares indeed sent convoys to Alexander, but he was in secret league with Poros, the Paurava⁴⁵, who ruled between the Jhelum and the Chenab. After defeating his forces in a great battle probably on the Karri plain, just above Jhelum, Alexander crossed the Chenab to attack another Poros, nephew of the former and ruler of Gandaris, which may have corresponded to the modern Gondal Bar. Poros was not however absolute ruler of this tract for it was partly held by independent tribes, and adjacent to it lay the Glausai or Glaukanikoi.

Similarly on the east bank of the Ravi lay the Kathaioi⁴⁶, and still further east, on the Beas, the Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas), while to their south-west, along the lower course of the Ravi below Lahore were the warlike Malloi. These tribes formed a loosely knit confederacy, but the Kathaioi were attacked before the Malloi could reinforce them, and while only supported by the minor clans in their immediate neighbourhood. Thus, Alexander was able, after crossing the Ravi and receiving the surrender of Pimprama from the Adraistai, to invest Sangala into which the Kathaioi had thrown themselves. After its fall Alexander advanced to the Beas which he probably reached just below its south-ward bend below Pathankot. Indeed if speculation be admissible we may conjecture that Pimprama was Paithan and that the Kathaioi are represented by the Katoch. However this may be, Alexander appointed Poros king of all the conquered territories between the Beas and the Ravi, then occupied by the Glausai, Kathaioi and 5 other nations, and comprising no less than 2000 townships. Taxiles was confirmed in his sovereignty, formerly somewhat shadowy, over all the territory between the Jhelum and the Indus. Lastly, he made Abisares satrap of Bhimbhar and Rajauri, together with the overlordship of Urasa.

On his return march Alexander reached the Jhelum, having first secured control of the southern part of the Salt Range which formed the kingdom of Sophytes (Saubhuti). Near the confluence of the Chenab and Beas, then probably close to Jhang, Alexander landed troops from his flotilla to forestall an attempt by the Siboi and Agalassoi to join the Malloi, who lay lower down the river. The Siboi, a rude tribe clad in skins and armed with clubs, submitted, but the Agalassoi mustered 40,000 foot and 3000 horse to resist the invader and were apparently exterminated. Both their principal towns were taken, but the capture of the second cost the Macedonians many lives. It is clear from this account that the tract round Jhang was then highly fertile and densely populated, partly by a backward race (the Siboi), partly by a well-organised nation, the Agalassoi, which possessed fortified towns. The citadel of their second town escaped destruction, and was garrisoned by a detachment from the macedonian army.

The Malloi still remained unconquered. It appears certain that they held an extensive and fertile tract, along both banks of the lower

Ravi, and that they were in ordinary times at feud with the Oxydrakai. But in this emergency the two tribes formed an alliance, cemented by a wholesale exchange of brides, and endeavoured to combine against the invaders. But Alexander acted too promptly to allow their forces, which united would have formed an army of 100,000 men, including 10,000 horse, with 700 or 900 chariots, to collect. Crossing the Bar, even at that period a waterless steppe, between the Chenab and Ravi, he surprised the Malloi in their fields. Those who escaped were shut up in the fortified towns, one of which, with a citadel situated on a commanding height, was stormed and 2000 of its garrison slain. Pushing on Alexander caught up the flying Malloi at a ford across the Ravi, and inflicted further severe loss upon them; and, crossing the river into the Montgomery district, he took a Brahman stronghold, perhaps Shorkot, the ancient Shor.⁴⁷

The Malloi too had still another stronghold in a small town 80 or 90 miles north-east of Multan. This offered a desperate resistance. Alexander was wounded in the assault: in revenge all its inhabitants were massacred. At the confluence of the five rivers with the Indus, or possibly at their confluence with the Hakra, Alexander founded a city. In its neighbourhood lay the independent tribes styled Abastanoi, Xathroi (Oxathroi, ? Kshatriya) and Ossadioi by Arrian. Curtius, however says that Alexander came to a second nation called Malli and then to the Sabarcae⁴⁸, a powerful democratic tribe without a king, who numbered 66,000 warriors with 500 chariots. Further south the extremity of the modern State of Bahawalpur lay within the dominions of Mousikanos.

Thus, the political conditions in the Punjab were, as we shall always find them, strongly marked and deeply contrasted. In the Punjab Proper ruled dominant tribal democracies⁴⁹, the tribes or tribal confederacies of the Malloi, Oxydrakai, kathaioi, the precursors of the Sikh commonwealth; while the hills which encircled them were held by petty chiefs. Saubhuti, Ambhi of Taxila, Abisares, Arsakes and the two chieftains or kinglets designated Poros. Sind then, as often later, formed a kingdom or group of principalities.

Of the states in the north-west Punjab few were of any great extent. The dominions of the elder Poros between the Jhelum and Chenab only comprised 300 townships, whereas the country from the

former river to the Beas was held by no less than nine nations with 5000⁵⁰ townships, though the latter number may be exaggerated.

The state of civilization then existing in the Punjab is described with some detail in the Greek histories.

Under the Mauryan dynasty⁵¹ the Punjab became a mere province of the empire, and with Kashmir, Sind and the territories west of the Indus formed a viceroyalty governed from Taxila. Yet few traces of the Buddhist code imposed on its people remain. Again from the time of Demetrius (190 B.C.) to the overthrow of Hermaios (c. 56 A.D.)—a period of two centuries and a half the Punjab was dominated by Greek or Graeco-Bactrian influences which have left still fewer traces, although it was signalised by the reign of Menander (Milinda in Prakrit), the king whose brilliant capital was at Sagala (Sialkot) and who was converted to Buddhism. Sagala lay in Maddarattha, the country of the Maddas, the Madras or Madrakas of Sanskrit literature. With the Madras and the people of Sagala, the Kshudrakas and Malavas were all included in the general term Bahika⁵², and the inhabitants of Sagala itself formed a class of the Bahika called Jartika. The Graeco-Buddhist civilization was destroyed by the Parthians, and they in turn fell before the Indo-Scythian dynasty, whose greatest ruler, Kanishka, also became a convert to Buddhism. But the Buddhism of his time was that of the Mahayana or Great Vehicle⁵³, largely of foreign origin and developed as the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellenic elements, chiefly made possible by the unification of the Roman world under the earlier emperors.⁵⁴ The centre of the Indo-Scythian power lay in Gandhara and Kashmir, and Kanishka's capital was Purushapura (Peshawar), but his great Buddhist council sat at the Kuvana monastery at Jalandhar, and in Kashmir.⁵⁵ Sir John Marshall is now in possession of proof that Kozoulo-Kadphises (I) was reigning in 79 A.D. so that Kanishka was reigning in the 2nd century of our era. This should settle the controversy regarding Kanishka's dates.

From Kanishka's time date the Gandhara sculptures, many of whose characteristic features are due to the cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman influence.

The Kushan power in the rest of India undoubtedly decayed under Vasudeva, whose name shows how thoroughly Indianised the

invaders had become; but in the Punjab and Kabul they hold their own until they were overthrown in the 5th century by the Ephthalites or White Huns. But about the middle of the 3rd century the Kushan coinage became Persianised, and possibly this is to be ascribed to the unrecorded Persian invasion, discussed above, pp. 24-25.

During the Gupta ascendancy the Punjab, with Eastern Rajputana and Malwa, was for the most part in the possession of the tribal democracies, or confederacies, which had subsisted through all the dynastic changes and invasions of the preceding centuries. The Madrakas still held the Central Punjab, but a new tribe, the Yaudheyas (Joiyas), now appear as occupying both banks of the Sutlej while the Abhiras with the Malavas held part of Eastern Rajputana. The Kushans, eventually confined to Gandhara and Kabul, maintained diplomatic relations with Samudragupta, but neither their territories, nor the Punjab as a whole, was much influenced by the Hindu renaissance of the Gupta period.⁵⁶

The White Huns assailed the kingdom of Kabul and thence poured into India in 455-484 A.D. Ten years later they overwhelmed Gandhara under the leadership of Toramana, whose son Mihirakula made Sagala (Sialkot) his capital. His reign was chiefly remarkable, as far as the Punjab is concerned, for his persecution of the Buddhists, and a great massacre of the people of Gandhara on the banks of the Indus, the king being a bigoted worshipper of Shiva, his patron deity. But he died soon after, in 540, and his kingdom did not long survive him for in 563-7 the Turks and Persians overthrew the White Huns in the Oxus Valley, and thus destroyed the root of their power in India. For nearly 500 years India now enjoyed almost absolute immunity from invasion of her North-Western Frontier, but during this long opportunity she failed to create any organised State powerful enough to protect her when the tide of invasion once more flowed in upon her. Nothing is known of Punjab history in the latter half of the 6th century, but by 604 A.D. we find a powerful kingdom established at Thanesar (Sthanvisvara) in the holy circuit of the Kurukshetra. Here, towards the end of the 6th century, Prabhakara-varadhana had raised himself to eminence by successful wars against the Hun settlements of the North-West Punjab and the clans of Gurjara (Gujrat). His son Harsha, who reigned from 606 to 648, established a great kingdom over

Northern India from the Himalaya to the Narmada, but its administration compares unfavourably with that of the Guptas. Violent crime was rare, but the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang was more than once robbed by brigands.

Imprisonment of the cruel Tibetan type was now the ordinary penalty, the prisoners being left to live or die, but mutilation was often inflicted for serious offences—such as filial impiety—though it was sometimes commuted into banishment. Ordeals were much in vogue. Nevertheless the civil administration was founded on benign principles. The rent of the crown lands, fixed in theory at 1/6 th of the produce, was the principal source of revenue, taxes were light and compulsory labour was paid for. Moderate personal service was exacted and liberal provision made for religious communities. Officials were remunerated by grants of land. Education was widely diffused especially among the Brahmans and Buddhist monks, and records of public events were kept. Harsha's court was the centre of an accomplished literary circle, which included Bana, the Brahman who composed the *Harsha-charita*, or 'Deeds of Harsha,' still extant. The religious position was however confused. In his latter days Harsha favoured the Buddhist doctrines, first in their Hinayana, then in the Mahayana, form, but he also worshipped Siva and the Sun. Near Multan he also built a vast monastery of timber in which he entertained strange teachers, apparently Zoroastrians for a time; but finally he set fire to the structure in which 12,000 followers of the outlandish system, with all their books, perished. For a century this holocaust restricted the religion of the Persians and Sakas to very narrow limits. Such is the tradition preserved by Taranath, but according to Hiuen Tsang about 644 Multan was a province where the Sun-god was held in special honour and formed, like Po-fa-to which lay to its north-east, a dependency of Tseh-kia, a kingdom which comprised the greater part of the country between the Indus and Beas, and had its capital close to Sagala. Kashmir, which was then the predominant power in the north, had reduced Taxila and Singhapura (the Salt Range), with the Urash plain, Punch and Rajauri to the rank of feudatories.

The pilgrim returned, after a month's stay at Jalandhar, to China, penetrating the defiles of the Salt Range with difficulty, crossing the Indus, and following the route over the Pamirs and through Khotan in 646 A.D.

The connection of India with China at this period was indeed close. Harsha sent a Brahman envoy to the imperial court of China, and in return a mission was sent which only reached India after Harsha's death. To go back to the first half of the 6th century China had then lost Kashgar, but in the 7th and 8th centuries she made great efforts to recover her lost ground, and in 661-65 she enjoyed unparalleled prestige. Kapisa, the country to the north of the Kabul river, was a province of the empire, and at its court were ambassadors from Udyana (Swat) and all the countries from Persia to Korea. After some vicissitudes her activity revived in 713 against the Arabs, who had blocked the roads over the Hindu Kush, and the Tibetans. In 719 the Arabs sought alliances amid the petty states on the Indian borderland, but the Chinese raised the chiefs of Udyana, Khottal (most of Badakhshan), Chitral, Yasin, Zabulistan (Ghazni)⁵⁷, Kapisa and Kashmir to the rank of kings, in her attempts to form a bulwark of states against Arabs and Tibetans alike. In 651, however the Arabs, aided by the Karluk tribes, overthrew the Chinese and direct contact between the politics of India, and China ceased for more than twelve centuries.

It is convenient now to consider what influences the almost incessant political changes of the foregoing centuries had brought to bear upon India, and what racial elements they had introduced? From the earliest period apart from the pre-historic Aryan inroads, the only Indo-European elements supplied by the invasions were Iranian and Greek, if the latter term can be justly applied to the heterogeneous mass which is called Graeco-Bactrian.

THE PARTHIAN INFLUENCE

Closely connected with the migrations of the Sakas and allied nomad tribes was the development of the Parthian or Persian power under the Arsakidan kings. Mithradates I (174 to 136 B.C.), king of Bactria, had extended his power as far as the Indus and possibly to the east of that river and the Saka chiefs of Taxila and Mathura took the title of satrap, presumably because they had become feudatories of the Parthian monarchy. About 120 B.C. Maues⁵⁸ or Mauas attained power in the Kabul valley and the Punjab. The most famous of his successors was Gondophares, and the coins of his nephew Abdagases are found

in the Punjab only, but those of his successor Orthagues are more widely spread. The Indo-Parthian princes were, however expelled from the Punjab by the Yueh-chi by the end of the first century A.D. Towards the close of that century Appollonius of Tyana visited Taxila and found it the capital of a sovereign who ruled over what was of old the kingdom of Porus? He bore the name of Phraotes⁵⁹, apparently a Parthian name, but was an Indian king, who had been educated by Brahmans and married the daughter of a king beyond the Beas. Appollonius was the bearer of a letter from the Parthian king Bardanes at Babylon, and this he presented to the satrap of the Indus at its crossing, and he, although no officer of the Parthian king, supplied them with boats and a guide to the Ravi out of regard for him. It thus appears that the Parthian power did not then extend even to the Indus at Attock Appollonius' object was to study the rites and doctrines of the Sramans and Brahmans, and he found many monuments of Alexander's invasion and considerable traces of Greek influence.⁶⁰

The account of Appollonius' visit to India does not come to us at first hand, but it is confirmed indirectly by the fact that Hermaios, the Last Greek ruler of Kabul and possibly other territories adjoining it, was not overthrown by the Kushans till about 50 A.D., and even his downfall was gradual, for Kadphises I at first struck coins in their joint names, and then replaced the bust of Hermaios by the effigy of the Roman emperor Augustus, showing that he acknowledged a shadowy suzerainty in Rome through his immediate overlord, the Parthian monarch.

THE CENTRAL ASIAN INROADS

While the earlier invaders of India appear to have been Aryan, Iranian, or Greek, the first or second century B. C. brought down upon India a torrent of Central Asian⁶¹ peoples which only ended such the Mughal invasions. The earliest of these invaders were the Sakas⁶² who overran the valley of the Helmund and gave their name to that country, so that it became known as Sakastene or Sistan after them, sometime after 130 B.C. Other branches of the horde, penetrating the Indian passes, established satrapies at Taxila and Mathura, which were closely connected. Very little is known about the Saka civilization. They adopted, it would appear, the religion of the Persians, presumably

Zoroastrianism, for according to Taranath.⁶³ Harsha of Thanesar in the 7th century A.D. built the great monastery of timber near Multan, but eventually set fire to it and burnt all its heretical denizens as already described.⁶⁴ But as a ruling race the Sakas probably disappeared from the Punjab before the great Yueh-chi invasion under Kadphises I, who was chief of the Kushan section of that tribe. He probably conquered Kabul about 60 A.D. and his successor, Kadphises II, finally extinguished the Indo-Parthian power in the Punjab and Indus valley.

Thus, these nomads, who may have been a Mongolian or Turk stock or a mixed race known as the Yueh-chi, had established themselves in Kipin, probably Northeastern Afghanistan if not Kashmir, and in the Kabul territory by 60 A.D., and the kingdom of Kadphises I doubtless included all modern Afghanistan and extended to the Indus. Between 90 and 100 A.D. the Yueh-chi dominion was extended all over Northwestern India, and the Kushan dynasty lasted till 225, a period of nearly two centuries. But the Turki Shahiyas of Kabul were, or atleast claimed to be, descended from Kanishka, the Kushan, so that the Turki element apparently held its own at Kabul from A.D. 60 to c. 900.

As a race the Yueh-chi were not snub-nosed Mongols, but big men with pink complexions and large noses, resembling in manners and customs the Hiung-nu, a tribe of Turki nomads of the same stock.⁶⁵ They came originally from the province of Kan-suh in Northwestern China and must have comprised, at the time of their defeat by the Hiung-nu, about 500,000 or 1,000,000 souls with 100,000 to 200,000 bowmen. What were the numbers which accompanied Kadphises I and Kadphises II into the Punjab we have no means of knowing. All that is known is that their great successor, Kanishka, wielded a military power so vast that he was able to wrest Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan from China. He embraced the Buddhist faith and founded at Peshawar, his capital, the Kanik-chaitya which Alberuni alluded to as late as 1930 A.D. But though Kanishka was a Buddhist the coins of the Kushans continued to bear images of Zoroastrian deities, such as Mithra, the Sun, Vata, the Wind, and the War-gods. But other coins bore the names and figures of non-Iranian gods, and those of Vasudeva are restricted in their types to the more or less barbarous representations of a few non-Zoroastrian deities. Almost all the coins

of this Kushan, like those of Kadphises II, exhibit the figure of Shiva with the bull Nandi.

CHINESE AND TIBETAN INFLUENCES

As has already been shown China exercised at least for a time an important influence in the extreme north-west of India in the 7th and 8th centuries. When her power decayed that of the Tibetans increased and in 747 A.D. they (and *not* the Chinese, according to Waddell⁶⁶) invaded Northeastern India, but apparently did not extend their in-roads to any part of the modern Punjab. The population of Western Tibet, says the Revd. A. H. Francke, is the result of a long process of blending of at least three stocks, two Aryan, *viz.* the Mons of North India and the Dards of Gilgit, and the third, and most numerous, Mongolian which is the Tibetan nation.

Of the Mons little is known as they were overlaid by the Dard migrations, except in Zangskar, even before the Central Tibetans overwhelmed them. In Zangskar all Indians, Kashmiris or Dogras are called Mon and Mr. Francke thinks that the ancient Mons were an Indian tribe, but it is not necessary to assume this. The *kiang*, the wild sheep and the wild yak had their feeding grounds much further to the west⁶⁷ than they are nowadays and though Tibetan nomads may have extended as far as Gilgit as far back as the time of Herodotus, it appears more probable that the Mons came not from India or the south but from the west and represent a stream of direct Aryan migration rather than one which had filtered through Kashmir from India. However this may be the Mons had some connection with pre-Lamaist Buddhism, as imposing remains of ancient Buddhist art are found among the ruins of their settlements in Zangskar and Ladakh. Of the Dards a good deal more is known, but though their influence in Western Tibet must have been enormous they cannot have affected the population of the Punjab or more than very slightly that of the Indus Kohistan.

About 800 A.D. however Chamba was subdued by a race of foreigners called Kira who were probably Tibetans, while Kulu seems to have often been liable to Tibetan inroads and for centuries it remained tributary to Ladakh. Kashmir and Kishtwar had also a later period of Tibetan rule.⁶⁸

THE HUN AND TURKISH ELEMENTS

If historical material for the third century A.D. is lacking very little is available for the history of the second half of the sixth century, but after the golden age of the Guptas, which had lasted from 370 to 455 A.D., the Huns must have poured into India in ever-increasing numbers. These White Huns or Ephthalites held a comparatively short lived supremacy over Northern India, for the Turkish tribes in alliance with the Persian king destroyed them between 563 and 567 in the Oxus valley and the Turks were soon able to extend their power as far southwards as Kapisa and annex all the countries once included in the Hun empire.⁶⁹ But soon after the Huns came the Gurjaras who may indeed have come along with them, though the Gurjaras are never heard of until near the end of the 6th century, as the records frequently bracket them with the Hunas. Recent investigation has shown that the Pratihara (Parihar) clan of the Rajputs was really only a section of the Gujars and this fact raises a strong presumption that the other 'fire-born' Rajput clans, the Solanki (Chalukya), Punwar (Paramara) and Chauhan (Chahamana) must also be of Gurjara origin.⁷⁰ The Tunwars (Tomaras) must be assigned a similar origin.⁷¹ The Gurjara empire was of great extent. At the beginning of the 9th century it included or dominated the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Gandhara, and Kira kingdoms, practically the whole Punjab. It certainly comprised the modern district of Karnal and extended to a point below Jullundur.⁷² The Gurjaras gave dynasties to Kanauj, Ajmer, and other states and from their ruling clans are descended the mass of the modern Rajput clans.

The nomadic Gujars, on the other hand, colonised a line running from Mewat (the 'Gujarat' of Alberuni) up both sides of the Jumna valley, and thence following the foot of the Punjab Himalaya, right up to the Indus.⁷³ Now it is undoubtedly true that the Gujar is one of the few great 'castes' or races of Northern India which has retained its own dialect. Even in the extreme north-west, amongst, pisacha-speaking peoples in Swat and Kashmir the nomadic Gujar graziers and shepherds speak a language which closely resembles the Rajasthani of Mewat and Jaipur. In Kashmir this dialect is called Primu. In the northwestern hills and indeed in the Punjab generally the Gujar has not amalgamated largely with the other tribes indigenous

or immigrant and in Attock it is remarkable how much they are disliked and despised by other tribes. Though good cultivators and often well off, they seem to be looked upon as little better than menials, and the appointment of a Gujar to any place of authority over any other tribe is always the signal for disturbance. They are good landlords and among the best cultivators in the district, and in physique of the same type as the Jat whom in many ways they much resemble'. Prone to thieving, when circumstances permit, quarrelling and intriguing are blots on their character, but not much more evil can be said of them. They differ entirely in character from the idle, thievish and cowardly Gujars of the Southern Punjab'—and it is a great grievance that the army is closed to them, but a good many find their way into it by assuming another tribal name.⁷⁴ That some of the great Rajput tribes then may have been formed from Gurjara elements is by no means inconceivable, but if the Rajputs as a body are Gujars by origin it is difficult to account for the above account of the esteem in which they are held. Moreover to be perfectly frank, the present writer is not quite as convinced as he was of the Gujar origin of the Rajputs.⁷⁵ Assuming that *pratihara* means 'durward' that surname may have been adopted by a Gurjara family which attained to Rajput or gentle rank, but it would not follow that all Pratiharas were Gurjaras and still less need it be assumed that all the Rajput clans were Gurjaras.

Further the theory leads almost of necessity, to other theories still more difficult of acceptance. It follows that if the Rajputs were Gurjaras all tribes of Rajput origin must be Gurjara too. For example the Kanets would be Gujars by blood, but Sir George Grierson⁷⁶ would restrict that origin to the Rao (Rahu) Kanets and assign to the Khash or Khasia a Khasha descent. The Khashas are frequently mentioned as a northern tribe addicted to cannibalism like the Pisachas, in the *Mahabharata* and many later works. They appear to have been once settled in Western Tibet, but in historical times they were restricted to a comparatively limited region, the valleys lying immediately south of the Pir Panjal range between the middle Jhelum and Kishtwar, all now in Kashmir territory. That they spread further eastward over the hills of Chamba and Kangra into the Kulu valley can only be conjectured from the similarity of their name to that of the Khash Kanets. The different groups among the Kanets have no traditions of different descent, indeed their divisions appear to be

sectarian by origin. This is at least true of the Kuran Kanets of the Simla hills. The Khakhas of the Jhelum valley are almost certainly the modern representatives of the Khashas, but if the Khash Kanets are to be identified with them it would appear equally probable that the Khashai or Khakhai Pathans, progenitors of the Yusafzai, Tarklani and other Pathan tribes, are Khash also.

In the eastern hills the Gurjara strain may have amalgamated much more readily with the indigenous tribes Grierson indeed suggests that the earliest known Indo-Aryan or Aryan inhabitants of the Himalaya tract, known as the Sapadalaksha, were the Khashas who spoke a language akin to the Pisacha languages of the Hindu Kush. These are now represented by the Khas clan of the Kanets. Later on the Khashas were conquered by the Gurjaras, who are now represented by the Rajputs, and also by the Rao (Rahu) clan of the Kanets which represents those Gurjaras who did not take to warlike pursuits but remained cultivators—whence their claim to be of impure Rajput descent. Over the whole of Sapadalaksha Gurjaras and Khashas amalgamated gradually and they now speak a language mainly Gurjari, but also bearing traces of the original Khasha population.⁷⁷

As will be seen later many of these Gurjaras of Sapadalaksha invaded Rajputana and there developed the Rajasthani tongue. Subsequently there was constant communication between Rajputana and Sapadalaksha and under the pressure of the Mughal domination⁷⁸ there ultimately set in a considerable tide of emigration back from Rajputana into Sapadalaksha. This great swirl of population appears to the present writer to have extended right round the Punjab, Grierson suggests that during the period in which Rajput rule became extended over the Punjab the Rajput (Gurjara) fighting men were accompanied by their humbler pastoral brethren.

The Kuran Kanets appear to be looked down on by both the Khash and Rahu Kanets on religious grounds as will appear from the following valuable note by Mr. H.W. Emerson—

The Kurans are looked down upon by other branches of the Kanets and as they can neither take nor give wives outside their own group, they are forced to intermarry among themselves. So great are the difficulties thus created that several villages but little larger than hamlets have divided their houses into three or more

subdivisions, intermarriage being permitted inside the village but not within the subdivision. The main grounds on which the Kurans are looked down upon are three in number. In the first place they summon no Brahman at death or other ceremonies. Secondly they erect in honour of the dead at a local spring or cistern an image which consists of the head only, not of the whole body. Thirdly, they ill-treat their gods. The gods of the tract are five in number, and all of them came from Kashmir with Mahasu when that deity chased Chasralu, his immortal, enemy, across the mountains. The fugitive at last slipped into a deep but narrow cleft where none was bold enough to follow him and there he still lurks, watched by the five gods whom Mahasu sent to watch him. But he is still associated in worship with his warders and his cavern is the scene of strange rites. But for four months in the year he sleeps and his gaolers need not keep strict watch over him. Each year they go to sleep when snow begins to fall on the mountains and do not wake until their worshippers arouse them. This is the occasion for the great festival of the Kurans and it is held at each of the five temples of their gods at the full moon in Phagan. In each temple is a small open window let into the outer wall. Below this inside the building is placed an image of the God and two bands, each of from 8 to 11 men, are chosen from his worshippers. These men fast for some days before the festival. One represents the god's defenders, and the other side attacks them. Both are armed with snow-balls. The defenders station themselves close to the window and try to beat off the attacking party whose object is not to hit them back, but to arouse the God by their missiles. If they fail to do this before their supply is exhausted they are fined several rams, but if they succeed in hitting him on the head it is peculiarly auspicious and then they dance and leap for joy, shouting that the God has risen from his sleep. The defenders on their part revile them for the sacrilege, hurl stones at them and chase them through the village, firing shots over their heads. When a truce is called the God's opinion is asked through a diviner in an ecstasy, but while he invariably commends his defenders for their zeal he thanks their assailants for awaking him, and joins in the festival which lasts for several days.

Where the Gujars settled in the plains they lost their own language, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as Gujari. All this is pre-eminently true, but to

the present writer it appears that the Rajput-Gujars and the Gujar settlements of the modern Punjab may owe their origin to administrative or military colonisation of the Punjab and its eastern hills by the great Gujar empire, whose rulers found the Punjab difficult to hold and had constantly to enfeeble Rajput or Gujar condottieri with allodial fiefs held on condition of military service.

The Huns.—The first recorded invasion of India by the Huns is ascribed to the reign of Skandagupta, and must have occurred between 455 and 457 A.D. It was repulsed by their decisive defeat, but this first incursion must have been made by a comparatively weak body since about 500 A.D. the nomads appeared in greater force and overwhelmed Gandhara. From this new base they penetrated into the Gangetic provinces and overthrew the Gupta empire. Indeed Toramana their leader, was actually established as ruler of Malwa in Central India prior to 500 A.D. and on his death in 510 A.D. his empire passed to his son Mihiragula whose capital was at Sagala in the Punjab. Song-Yun, the Chinese envoy, also found a Hun king ruling over Gandhara in 520, though whether this king was Mihiragula or not is uncertain and unimportant.

Again in 547 A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes describes Gollas, a White Hun king, as Lord of India. Mihiragula probably died in 540, but even after his death it is certain that all the states of the Gangetic plain suffered severely from the ravages of the Huns during the second half of the 6th century and it was in that period that the Raja of Thanesar gained renown by his successful wars against the Hun settlements in the North-West Punjab. In 604 his eldest son had advanced into the hills against them, but he was recalled by his father's death and we have no record of any final destruction of these Hun settlements. Harsha's conquests lay in other directions. The Hun invasion thus began in 455 and we still find the tribe established on the north-west frontier in 604-130 years later.

In later Sanskrit literature the term Huna is employed in a very indeterminate sense to denote a foreigner from the north-west, just as Yavana had been employed in ancient times, and one of the thirty-six so called royal Rajput clans was actually given the name of Huna.⁷⁹ This designation may, however quite possibly have been its real name and denote its real descent from the Huns, a tribe or dynasty of that

race having, we may assume, established itself in India and, as a conquering or dominant race, acquired Rajput status.

A NOTE ON ZABULISTAN

On coins of Vasudeva occur the names of three countries, Takan, Jaulistan and Sapardalakshan. The latter is the later Siwalik.

Tukan or Takan was according to Stein the name of the province which lay between the Indus and Beas and it was known as early as the 8th century A.D.⁸⁰

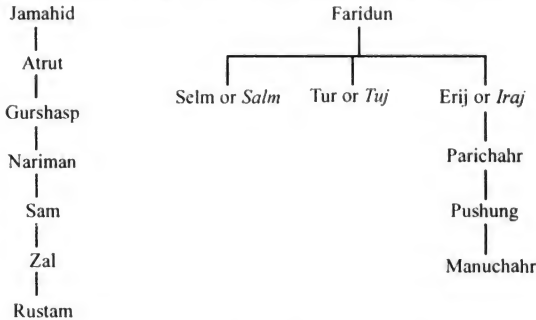
Bhandarkar suggests that Takan should be Tak=Takka, and Taq was apparently a town which lay in Zabulistan. But *tak* or *taq* meant an arch and the place-name Tank would appear to be derived from it and not from Tak or Takka.

The name Zabulistan or Zawulistan would appear to mean the 'land of Zabul' and it was also so called, but strictly speaking Zabul was its capital. Its situation has already been described. Cunningham's identification of Jaulistan with Jabulistan is incontrovertible and Bhandarkar takes that to be Zabulistan an equation which appears hardly open to dispute. It is equally probable that the Javule Toramana of the Pehewa inscription derived his title from Zabul, but beyond that it appears unsafe to go. The coins of the Shahi Javuvla or Jabula, the Toramana Shahi Javula of the Kura inscription from the Salt Range, must be those of this king, but it does not follow, as Hoernle says, that there was a Javula tribe.⁸¹ Still less does it follow that the Javulas were Gurjaras: or that, as Vincent Smith implies, the title Jaula was a Hun title.⁸²

It would be out of place here to discuss the extent or history of Zabulistan, but one or two points may be noted. It did not correspond to Seistan, but it included the Sigiz or Sigizi range whence Rustam derived his name of 'the Sigizi' and which may have given its name to Seistan⁸³, and the towns of Baihaq or Mukir, Taq and apparently Uk of Sijistan⁸⁴, which was afterwards called Ram Shahrstan.⁸⁵ Zabulistan lay north-west and south-west of Ghazni, but did not include that city⁸⁶ Le Strange says the high-lands of the Kandahar counter, along the upper waters of the Helmund, were known as Zabulistan.⁸⁷

REFERENCES

1. This is also Canon Greenwell's conclusion: see Vincent Smith. *The Copper Age and Prehistoric Bronze Implements of India, Ind. Ant.*, 1907, p. 53.
2. J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 2, and *La Langue Etrusque*, reviewed in *Athenaeum*, Jany. 1914.
3. *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 1119 and 1108.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. Ixiii—iv of Briggs' Translation.
5. Farishta is careful to point out that thus is not the Krishna of Mathra.
6. Apparently the Talamurs, called the Doy-band or Magician-binder of Muiccolm's *History of Persia*, I, p. 14. He ruled Persia for 30 years and was succeeded by the famous Jamshid, who fell before Zuhak.
7. Farishta distinctly speaks of Gurshasp as the son of Faridun But—



are the pedigrees given in Malcolm, pp. 24 and 21. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* gives the sons of Faridun as italicised and says that Iraj held Iraq with Hind and Sind, while the *Rauzat-ut-Tohirin* says he held Khorasan with only a portion of Hind and Sind: *T.N.* I, p. 308.

8. Farishta expressly says that it derives its name from Mal Chand. It appears to be the Malwa of Central India, not the tract in the Punjab.
9. Hereditary prince of Selatan, according to Malcolm, p. 24.
10. Zal-i-zar—Zal of the golden hair—hold the city of Zabul, which gave its name to Zabulistan. It was also called the city of Zuhak, and Vigue—(*Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, p. 109)—described its position thus:—On the continuation of the even-topped ridge of the Sar-i-Koh (which Raverty—*Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 507—says is the crest of the great range of Mihtar Sulaimau, bounding the Ghazni state on the east) are to be seen,

as I was informed, the ruins of a large city, called Zohaka, after the king who reigned there before the time of the Mussalmen. The ruins of Zabul appear to lie in the Maidan-i-Rustam according to Raverty (*op. cit.*, p. 456). For a note on Zabulistan see the Appendix to this Part.

11. Son of Kalkobad.
12. Sankal Raja, according to Farishta, founded Lakhnauti in Bengal, after usurping Kidar's throne. He maintained a vast army and refused to pay tribute to Afrasiab, and Piran. Wisa, the *wazir* of Afrasiab, was sent against him with 50,000 Turki horse, but compelled to retreat. Afrasiab, however joined him with 100,000 horse and carried off Sarkal Raja to Turan, where he was eventually killed in action by Rustum. Maloolm is completely silent as to this episode. Possibly this is the Shankal 'King of Sind' who supplied Bahram Gor with 12,000 or 1000 sweet-voiced minstrels from his kingdom. They became the ancestors of the present Lurl or Luli, the musician gypsy tribe, of modern Persia: A.C. Woolner in Punjab Historical Society's *Journal*, II, p. 120. Local tradition in Sahiranpur preserves the name of a 'Muhammedan tyrant,' named afrasa, who burnt down the sacred grave in Kankhal near Hardwar: *Calcutta Review*, 1874, p. 194.
13. "Which tribe has inhabited that country ever since," adds Farishta.
14. Farishta says Gakhars, but he always confuses them with the Khokhars and the latter must be meant.
15. The name Chaubea is extremely puzzling. Conjecturally it is misreading of Joiya but this is very uncertain. We find Chaubin as a Partar name (Malcolm I, p. 31, note). But Bahram who took possession of the Persian throne in 590) A.D.—at a period—was also called Chaubin, or the 'stick-like,' probably from his appearance: (*ibid*, p. 152, note 2).
16. Uncle of his infant son and so doubtless Jai Chand's brother.
17. Farishta did not get this statement from a Persian source: *of*. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
18. Gudurz is the only one of the Ashkanian kings mentioned by Farishta, p. 87, and he must have reigned long after Chandragupta's time. There were possibly two kings of this name, Bahram Gudurz the third of the Arsacides, who reigned after Christ, and Gudurz, son of Pellas: Malcolm *op. cit.*, pp. 85-7.
19. Artaxerxes, the Sassanian, 226-240 A.D., p. 93.
20. Ardeshir II (acc. 381 A.D.) has clearly been confused here with Ardeshir Babegan.
21. Shapur III, acc. 385 A.D. Malcolm, p. 112.
22. Babram V, acc. 421 A.D.
23. This tale is also noticed by Malcolm, *op. cit.*, I, p. 118.

24. Ramdeo then reached Shivkot Pindi, situated at a small distance on the top of the neighbouring hill at Nagarkot. There he summoned the Raja to meet him at the temple of Durga, which goddess he venerated. The Raja bestowed in daughter on one of Ramdeo's sons—in acknowledgment no doubt of his suzerainty.
25. Acc. 458 A.D.
26. Acc. 488 A.D.
27. Acc. 531 A.D.
28. Malcolm says that the emperors of India and China courted Naushirwan's friendship, and he describes the magnificent presents sent by the former (*op. cit.*, p. 144). The tribute was, however, refused to his unworthy successor (p. 151). Naushirwan's power, it is implied, only extended to the Indus (p. 150).
29. A.D. 591-628. According to the *Raghuransa* Raghu carried his arms into Persia: *Indian Shipping*, p. 65.
30. Mahavan, says Briggs, is supposed to be a village on the left bank of the Jumna about 10 miles below Mathra. Gulchandr must be the 'Kool Cured,' Raja of Mahavan, attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni in or about 1017 A.D.: Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
31. Briggs, I, pp. 139-40.
32. *Early History of India*, pp. 254-5. For the countries which appear on Vasudeva's coins, see the Appendix to this Part.
33. J.R.A.S., 1911, pp. 1 and 46
34. See J.R.A.S., 1912, pp. 255-7, and reference, there given.
35. *Ibid.* 1905, pp. 285-8. Grierson says that a connexion between Pisacha and the Pashai Kafira is phonetically possible, but Pashai is not the name of a sept. It is the name of a valley.
36. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 140.
37. *E.G. the Anguttara, and Vinaya Texts.*—See *Buddhist India*, p. 233.
38. *Not* Kandahar (as Professor Rhys Davids thinks): *op. cit.*, p. 28—See Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 34, 35, 25 and 27: also pp. 297 and 30. The kingdom of Gandhara was overwhelmed by the Huns in 500 A.D. and regained by Mihiragula, the Hun, from its ruler, perhaps himself a Hun, about 530.
39. *Op. cit.*, p. 28:—See also the map at the end of that work. *Cf.* also Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
40. *Op. cit.*, p. 173.
41. Clearly not south-west as in *Buddhist India*, p. 27.

42. Or Kaspatyros: possibly Kasyapapura (Multan), which was, we must conjecture, a dependency of Gandhara.
43. Just as Ambi (Omphis) assumed the title of Taxiles on his accession to the throne of Taxila, so Arsakes, the ruler of Urasha, would appear to have taken his name from his realm and the Pathan chiefs of the present day in Dir and Swat have a precisely similar system. In much the same way tribes like the Katoea and Dogra derive their names from the territories which they occupy or in which they are dominant.
44. Not Mahaban—See Stein, Report of Archmological Survey work in the North-West Frontier Province for 1904-05.
45. The guess that Poros might be Paurava,' says Mr. Vincent Smith, 'is not very convincing': *op. cit.*, p. 56. In the Sassanian chronicles the name appears as Fur.
46. The Kathaioi have been identified with the modern Kathias who settled in the Montgomery district about 11 generations ago from Kathiawar. The Kathias never had any settlements east of the Ravi according to their own traditions.—See Montgomery *Gazetteer*, 1899, pp. 82-3.
47. Shor was identified by Cunningham with Alexandria Soriana, but Dr. Vogel has shown that its ancient name was Shibi-pura. Shibi was a tribal name, often mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and Chinese Buddhist tradition places a Shibi-*raja* in the Upper Swat valley.—*Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, I, p. 174.
48. Diodorus calls these Sambastai, and adds that the Sodrai and Massanoi occupied both banks of the river (? Indus).
49. The Kathaians were not ruled by kings like the tribes which lay nearer the Indus (in the Salt Range and other hills), but were autonomous, *each of the communities into which they were divided being self-governed:*" McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 37, n., in which the words in italics are apparently the editor's own deduction. No authority is cited, and from Note L, to his *Invasion of India*, p. 347, it would appear that the note is based on Arrian, who speaks of the Kathaians and other tribes of independent Indians, which does not necessarily imply that the Kathaians were *autonomoi* at all. Strabo indeed expressly says that they chose as king the handsomest man, probably meaning that no one physically deformed could succeed to the kingship. But in any event the rule of a king would be quite consistent with the existence of 'autonomous' village communities.
50. *Ancient India*, pp. 9 and 40: but in the *Invasion of India*, p. 112, the number is given as 500—clearly an error, for Strabo *twice* says 5000.
51. Dr. D.B. Spooner regards Mauryan as equivalent to Mervian and on serves that the founder of the dynasty, Chandragupta, was certainly not a Buddhist: *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 414 and 416.

52. References to the Bahika, Bahlika or Vahluka are frequent in Sanskrit literature, but it is difficult to locate them with precision. Cunningham (A.S.R.I. p. 148) placed the Bahika country, which was named after Bahi and Rika, two domons of the Beas river, in the Jalandhar Doab, while Lassen, on the authority of the *Trikanda Sesha*, says the Bahika are the same as the people of Trigartta. Cunningham apparently followed the authority of the *Ma'atha.ata*, but that poem also describes the Madra as also called Bahika and Jartika. *i. b.* V., p. 155. They must not be confused with the Pahlava or Pallava as has been done by a writer in J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 236. It is tempting to suggest that they are represented by the modern Bhaos of Sialkot.
53. Or Northern School, which still prevails in Japan, China and Tibet, in Spiti and, in very impure form, in Lahul and Kanawar.
54. Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
55. *Early History of India*, p. 231: it probably sat at Jalandhar in the cold weather and in Kashmir in the hot season (*cf.*, p. 220 for the treatment of the Chinese hostages).
56. Kartripura, a place which gave its name to a kingdom embracing Kumaon, Almora, Garhwal and Kangra, is identified by Fleet with Kartarpur, but that town appears to owe its origin to the Sikhs. Hutchison mentions Brahmapura as a more ancient kingdom comprising British Garhwal and Kumaon: *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 69.
57. See the appendix to this part.
58. It might be tempting to suggest some connection between Maues and the Mawis of the Simla hills if the former name did not appear as Mōga.
59. *Cf.* Phraates, in Parthian name.
60. *India and Rome*, by Priaulx, pp. 11-12 etc.
61. The term Indo-Scythian, which appears to the present writer wholly unjustifiable and misleading, appears to be due to the fact that, as Herodotus records, the Persians termed all-Scythian nomads Sakai. But the Saka originally held territory to the west of the Wu-sun horde, apparently situated between the Chu and the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) rivers to the north or south of the Alexander mountains. From those seats they were expelled by the Yneh-ohi. Moreover, as Dr. D.B. Spooner has now pointed out, even Herodotus used the term Sakai in more than one application and for long periods. Shaka denoted Iranians, not Scythians at all. As Dr. Fleet has contended those were no Scythians in the north of India in early times and Shakyamuni should be translated 'Iranian sage.'
62. Mr. Vincent Smith speaks of this as an Indo-Parthian dynasty and some of them bear Iranic names, *e.g.* Onones. But Maues and Azes are believed to be enythic names and Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar would regard them as

- Sakas, some of whom assumed Iranic names just as Greeks took Buddhist and even Hindu names: *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 13. n-15.
63. The Tibetan historian of Buddhism.
 64. P. 32 *supra*. See *Early Hist. of India*, p. 293. The text gives a very imperfect idea of the probable extent of Zoroastrian influences during this period. Reference can only be made to Dr. D.B. Spooner's valuable paper on *The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* in J.R.A.S. 1915, page 405 f.
 65. *Early Hist. of India*, p. 217. The Hiung-nu were not Huns or Ephthalites.
 66. J.R.A.S., but. p. 203, and A.Q.R., Jany. 1911. The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet was probably the result of the invasion of 747.
 67. The existence of the wild sheep in Labul, where it has been extinct for centuries, is proved from rock-carvings in that canton: *A History of Western Tibet*, pp. 13, 18, 19, 20, 65, 188.
 68. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
 69. Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
 70. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 53.
 71. *Ib.*, pp. 258, 260.
 72. *Ib.*, pp. 264, 267, 268.
 73. Grierson in J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 1084.
 74. *Attock Gazetteer*, 1907, p. 91.
 75. Accepted in Vol. III, p. 300 *infra*.
 76. *The Pahari Language*, in *Ind. Ant.*, 1915.
 77. J.R.A.S. 1912, p. 1083-4.
 78. So Grierson, but it is suggested that the tide set in much earlier, in the time of the earliest Moslem inroads.
 79. Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-8.
 80. *Rajatarangini* I, p. 205, note 150. Grierson suggests that Takri is the script of the Takkas: J.R.A.S. 1911, p. 802.
 81. J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 3.
 82. *Ib.* 1909, p. 268.
 83. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, I, p. 184.
 84. *Ib.*, pp. 67, 355-6, and II, p. 1120.
 85. *Ib.*, II, p. 1122.
 86. *Ib.*, I, p. 71, and II, p. 1020.
 87. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphates*, p. 334: cf p. 349. For Taq in Seistau sec p. 343: for Taq in Daylam, p. 374 and for Taq-i-Bustan, p. 187.

3

The Elements of the Punjab People

THE MUTABILITY OF CASTE

Before attempting to give any history of the modern Punjab tribes it will be well to attempt a sketch of the foreign elements in the Hindu population of India generally as determined by recent scholarship. Professor D.R. Bhandarkar¹ has pointed out that the orthodox theory of Hindu society as once split up into four distinct castes is untenable. The Vedic castes were not absolutely distinct from one another. A Kshatriya, a Vaisya, even a man of the lowliest origin, could aspire to Brahmanhood. Vishvamitra, a Kshatriya, founded a Brahman family. The sage Vasishtha was born of a harlot, but became a Brahman by religious austerities. 'Training of the mind,' says the verse of the *Mahabharata*, 'is the cause of it'. The reputed compiler of that epic, Vyasa, was born of a fisherman and Parahara, the sage, of a Chandala woman. 'Many others, who were originally not twice-born became Brahmanas.' So in the Punjab of the present day we find that it is function which determines caste, and not birth. Two of the old royal and essentially Rajput families in the Kangra hills, those of Kotlehr and Bangahal, are said to be Brahmans by original stock.² So too is the ruling family of Jubbal. Its founder was Bhir Bhat and his son by his wife, who was of his own caste, became the *parohit* or spiritual guide of his two half-brothers, sons of his father by the widowed Rani of Sirmur, and also of his uterine brother, her son by its Raja.³

Not only was it possible for men of humble origin to attain to Brahmanhood, but marriage between the castes was frequent.

Kshatriyas married with Brahmans on equal terms.⁴ But the son of a Brahman by a Sudra woman was a Nishadi and numerous instances might be given of new 'castes' formed by similar mixed marriages. But such unions did not by any means always produce new castes. On the contrary by a process very analogous to what goes on in the Punjab at the present day among the Asht-bans Brahmans,⁵ the *female* issue of a mixed marriage could by degrees regain their place. Thus, if a woman born to a Brahmans of a Sudra wife married a Brahman her issue would rank lower than a Brahman, but if her daughter again married a Brahman and their daughter again did so, the issue of the 'sixth female offspring' would, even if a son, be regarded as a pure Brahman.⁶ In other words the Sudra taint would be eliminated in seven generations, or as a verse of the *Manusmriti* says: 'If (a female) sprung from a Brahmana and a Sudra female, bear (*female*⁷ children) to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.' This is not, strictly speaking, paralleled in British Lahul at the present day. In that remote canton the Thakurs take to wife Kanet women as *srujat*,⁸ but not as *lahrt* or full wife; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered pure Thakurs, yet in a few generations they become equal always, we must assume, on condition that they can find Thakur brides.⁹ Very similarly Brahmans also have Kanet women in their houses, and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers, however, will not eat from their hands, though they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru* and marry Kanets or women of mixed caste, if they can find any. There are many of these *gurus* in Lahul, but they call themselves Brahmans and are probably accepted as Brahmans in a few generations. In fact no new 'caste' of *gurus* appears to have been formed. Here we see in operation a principle by which the *male* descendants of a mixed marriage eventually regained their father's caste. By an analogous principle women of lower castes could aspire to marriage with men of the highest castes, but not in a single generation. It takes the Ghirth woman seven generations to become a queen, but the Rathi's daughter can aspire to that dignity in five. In other words, by successive marriages in a higher grade a Ghirthni's daughter, daughter's daughter, and so on, is in seven generations eligible to become the bride of a Raja. An exact parallel to the *Mitakshara* rule is not found in the modern Punjab, but the

analogies with and resemblances to it are striking. It would also appear that in ancient times a Brahman's male descendants by a Shudra woman would in time regain Brahmanical status, just as they seem to do in modern Lahul, for Manu ordained that "if a Parashava, the son of a Brahman and a Shudra female, marries a most excellent Parashava female, who possesses a good moral character and other virtues, and if his descendants do the same, the child born in the sixth generation will be a Brahmana." Here we have a new 'caste,' the Parashava originating in a mixed marriage, but never developing, it would seem, into a caste, because its members could by avoiding further *mesalliances* and rigidly marrying *inter se* regain their ancestral status.

In ancient times, however, the effect of an union between two different castes was ordinarily the formation of a new 'caste'. No doubt the intermarriage of two castes of more or less equal status had not such a result¹⁰ or atleast it only resulted in forming a new group of much the same status. For instance the Brahmana Harichandra, surnamed Rohilladhi,¹¹ had two views, a Brahman and a Kshatriya. His children by both were called Pratihara,¹² but the sons of the former were Brahmana Pratiharas and those of the latter Kshatriya Pratiharas. And the Pratiharas, in spite of their Gujar origin, became a Rajput clan, one of the four Agnikulas. But when the disparity between the contracting parties was great, or when by what was termed a *pratiloma* marriage a man espoused a woman of *higher* caste than his own, a new caste was generally formed. Numerous instances of such new castes could be cited from Colebrooke's *Essays*. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson excerpted the following note from Colebrooke's work:

"It would seem that the offspring of marriage and of illicit intercourse between different castes were called by the same name; but this is open to some question (p. 272). Those begotten by a higher or a lower are distinguished from those begotten by a lower or a higher class (p. 273). The third is sprung from inter-marriages of the first and second set; the fourth from different classes of the second; the fifth from the second and third, and the sixth from the second and fourth. Manu adds to these tribes four sons of outcastes. The *Tantra* named many other castes (the above are apparently got from the *Puranas* p. 274). Except the mixed classes named by Manu, the rest are terms for profession rather than tribes; and they should be considered as

denoting companies of artisans rather than distinct races. The mention of mixed classes and professions of artisans in the *Amara Sinha* supports this conjecture (p. 274). The *Jatimala* mentions 262 mixed castes of the second set (above). They, like other mixed classes, are included in Sudra; but they are considered most abject; and most of them now experience the same contemptuous treatment as the abject mixed classes mentioned by Manu (p. 275). The *Tantra* says, 'avoid the touch of the Chandala and other abject classes; and of them who eat cow flesh, often utter forbidden words, and omit the prescribed ceremonies.' They are called Mlechha, and going to the region of 'Yavana have become Yavanas.' Again: 'These seven, the *Rajaka* (? mason), *Karmakara* (smith), *Nata* (dancer, actor!), *Barada* (? *tarutsaz!*), *Kaivarta* (fisherman), *Medabhilla*¹³ are the last tribes' and pollute by contact, mediate or immediate. A man should make oblations for, but should not dally with, women of *Nata*, *Kapala*, *Rajaka*, *Napita* (barber) castes, and prostitutes. Besides their special occupation, each mixed class may follow the special occupation of his *mother's* class; at any rate if he belongs to the first set (above). They may also follow any of the Sudra occupations, mental service, handicraft, commerce, agriculture."

Indeed so firmly established was this principle that a marked *mesalliance* or a *pratiloma* marriage founded a new caste, that it apparently became customary to define the status of a caste of lowly origin, aboriginal descent or degraded functions in the terms of an assumed or fictitious mixed marriage. Thus in order to express adequately the utter degradation of the Chandala he must be described as the issue of a Shudra man, begotten of a Brahman woman,¹⁴ just as the uncleanness of the Dakaut Brahmans can only be brought out by saying that they are descended from the *rishi* Daka by a Shudra woman.¹⁵

The formation of new castes on the principles set forth above was a very easy matter, so easy indeed that new castes might have been multiplied to infinity. But new factors came in to check their unrestricted creation. One of these factors was occupation, another was social usage. These were the two determining factors. Thus a Rajput who married a Jat wife did not necessarily sink to Jat status, but if his descendants tolerated widow re-marriage he certainly did so and

if they took to cultivating the soil with their own hands they probably did so in time, and having lost their status as Rajputs adopted widow re-marriage as a natural corollary. Countless Jat tribes claim, doubtless with good right, to be descended from Rajput ancestors who fell by marrying Jat women, or Gujars or others of like status. For a converse instance of promotion by marrying a woman of higher status see the case of the Dodai Baloch at p. 43, Vol. II.

Professor Bhandarkar arrives at the conclusion that even in the highest castes purity of blood is not universal, and he goes on to show how foreign elements were absorbed into the Hindu population. This appears to have been effected by a two-fold process. The descendants of invaders or immigrants were admitted into the pale of Hinduism according to their degree. The priestly Magian became a Brahman and the warrior a Kshatriya, precisely as in modern Lahul the Thakurs or gentry and *quondam* rulers have begun to assert a Rajput origin, though more or less pure Mongolians by blood, just as the Kanets, at any rate in the valleys of Gara and Rangloi, are pure Botias¹⁶ or Mongolians. The second process was intermarriage.

Professor Bhandarkar illustrates the first-named process by some very interesting historical facts, called from all parts of India. He cites the recently discovered inscription at Besnagar in Gwalior¹⁷ for an instance of a Greek ambassador, a Yavana-duta, with the Greek name of Heliodorus, erecting a *garuda* column to Vasudeva, god of gods, not as a mere compliment but because he was a *Bhagavata* of the god and, therefore fairly to be described as a Vaishnava and a Hindu. The Yavana men, however were oftener Buddhists than Hindus. They were succeeded by the Sakas, also a foreign tribe, whose dynasty ruled Afghanistan and the Punjab. Some of their *kshatrapas* or satraps were Buddhists, but others affected the Brahmanic religion, as did also many private individuals among the Sakas. At about the same period came the Abhiras, the modern Ahirs, described as bandits and foreigners, but undoubtedly Hindus. One of their sub-castes is closely associated with the cult of Krishna and claims descent from his foster-father Nanda.¹⁸ Abhira Brahmins are found in Rajputana and elsewhere, but not apparently in the Punjab. After the Sakas came the Kushanas, whose kings had Turki names and Mongolian features. After the Buddhist Kanishka the Kushan kings did homage to Shiva and other deities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

Of more special interest, however are the Maga or Shakadvipi Brahmans who must be assigned to about this period. They were undoubtedly Magi, and were brought into Jambudvipa by the son of Krishna Samba, who was suffering from white leprosy and was advised by Narada to build a temple to Surya on the Chenab. This temple was erected at Multan or Sambapura, one of its earlier names. The Magas were also called Bhojakas and wore an *avyanga* or girdle which was originally the skin of the serpent-god Vasuki, and Professor Bhandarkar points out that the name of their originator, Jarashasta, bears a close resemblance to that of Zoroaster,²⁰ and he is informed that the *pujaris* of these temples of Jagadisha and Jawalamukhi²¹ (in Kangra) are Sakadvipi Brahmans, as are the Sewak or Bhojak, most of whom are religious dependents of the Oswal Sravaks (Saraogis) in Jodhpur. These Sewaks keep images of Surya in their houses, and worship him on Sunday when they eat rice only. They used to wear a necklace resembling the east-off skin of a serpent. The Parashari Brahmans of Pushkar were also originally known as Sewaks and Sakadvipi Brahmans. About 505 A.D. we find the Magas spoken of as the proper persons to consecrate images of Surya, and c. 550 it is complained that in the Kaliyuga the Magas would rank as Brahmans. In all probability then the Magas came into India about the middle of the 5th century or earlier with Kanishka as his Avistic priests. It may be of interest to add that the presence of the Magian fire-worshippers in the Punjab would explain a curious passage in the *Zufarnama*, which states that Timur found the inhabitants of Samana, Kaithal and Asandi to be mostly fire-worshippers. The people of Tughlikpur, 6 *kos* from Asandi, belonged to the religion of the Magi (*sanawiya*) and believed in the two gods Yazdan and Ahriman of the Zoroastrians. The people of this place were also called Salun.²²

After the power of the Kushanas was overthrown and that of the Guptas established, India enjoyed respite for about two centuries. During the first half of the 6th century the Hunas penetrated into India with the allied tribes of Gurjaras, Maitrakas and so forth, eclipsed the Gupta power and occupied northern and central India. The Huna sovereign Mihirakula, in spite of his Persian name,²³ became a Hindu and his coins bear the bull—an emblem of Shiva—on the reverse. The Hunas, undoubtedly the White Ephthalites, or Huns, had come to

be regarded as Kshatriyas as early as the 11th century, and became so thoroughly Hinduised that they are looked upon as one of the 36 Rajput families believed to be genuine and pure. The name is still found as a subdivision of the Rahbari caste.²⁴ The Gujar, Sanskritised as Gurjara, were undoubtedly another foreign horde, yet as early as the first half of the 7th century they had become Hindus, and some of them atleast had actually acquired the rank of Kshatriyas, being commonly styled the imperial Pratihara dynasty. One inscription speaks of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. Among the 36 royal families of the 'real' Rajputs again we find the Badgujar, who represent an aristocracy of Gujar descent and of Rajput status. The Gujar-Gaur Brahmans are also, in all probability, Brahmans of Gujar-race from the tract round Thanesar. The late Sir James Campbell identified the Gujars with the Khazars who occupied a very prominent position on the borderland of Europe and Asia, especially in the 6th century, and who are described as "a fair-skinned, black-haired race of a remarkable beauty and stature. Their women indeed were sought as wives equally at Byzantinm and Baghdad."²⁵

Another Rajput tribe, which is in all probability of Gujar origin, is the Chainkya or Chaulukya. Two branches of this tribe migrated from Northern India. One, called Chalukya, descended from the Siwalik hills in the last quarter of the 6th century and penetrated far into Southern India. The other, the Chaulukya or Solanki, left Kanauj about 950 A.D. and occupied Guzerat, but Solanki Rajputs are still to be found in the Punjab in Hoshiarpur and in the tracts bordering or Rajputana in the south-east of the Province. Like the Padihars they are regarded as Agnikulas.

The Chahamanas, the third Agnikula tribe, are now the Chauhans. Professor Bhandarkar would attribute to them a Sassanian origin and read Chahamana for Vahmana on the coins of Vasudeva, whereigned at Multan over Takka, Zabulistan and Sapadalaksha or the Siwalik kingdom. Vasudeva's nationality is disputed. Cunningham thought him a later Huna, Professor Rapson would regard him as a Sassanian and Professor Bhandarkar as probably a Khazar and so a Gurjara. However, this may be, the Chahamanas were undoubted of foreign origin, and they were known as the Sapadalakshia-Chahamanas or Chauhans of the country of the 125,000 hills, which included not

only the Siwalik range, but a territory in the plains which included Nagaur on the west as well as the Punjab Siwaliks and the submontane tracts as far as Chamba²⁶ and Takka or Tak, the province between the Indus and the Beas.

The Maitraka tribe probably entered India with the Huns. Their name appears to be derived from *mitra*, the sun, a synonym of *mihira*, and to be preserved in Mer, *Mair*, and it may be suggested Med, unless the latter term means boatman, *cf.* Balochi Metha.

Closely associated with the Maitrakas were the Nagar Brahmins whose origin Professor Bhandarkar would assign to Nagarkot, the Modern Kangra. One of their *sharmans* or name-endings was Mitra. But into the Nagar Brahmins other castes appear to have been incorporated, and among others the Vaisya name-suffix Datta is found as a *sharman* of the Nagar Brahmin, just as it is among the Muhial Brahmins.²⁷ On the other hand, the Nagra Jats probably derive their name from Nagar, a place described as not far from Ahichchhatra, which was either the Ahichhatra now represented by Amra (or possibly by Hatur) or a place in the Siwalik hills.²⁸

THE ABORIGINES OF THE PUNJAB

It has long been the practice to speak of aboriginal tribes in the Punjab, but it is very difficult to say precisely what tribes or elements in its population are aboriginal. Both these provinces are on the whole poor in early historical remains, and both are singularly destitute of relics of pre-history. In the Thal or steppe of Mianwali local tradition attributes the first possession of the country to a half mythical race of gigantic men, called Belemas, whose mighty bones and great earthen vessels are even now said to be discovered beneath the sand hills. But the Belemas can hardly be other than the Bahlims, a tribe still extant as a Rajput sept. It was established on the Indus previous to the Seers (Siars) and Mackenzie mentions it as extinct, but not apparently as a very ancient race: Leia and Bhakkar *Sett. Tep.* 1860, § 832.

Thorburn records that the Marwat plain was sparsely inhabited by a race which has left us nothing but its name, Pothi, and this race appears to have been found in Marwat so late as three or four centuries ago when the Niazis overran it from Tank.²⁹

Raverty also notes that the Budli or Budni, who consisted of several tribes and held a large tract of country extending from Nangrahar to the Indus, were displaced by the Afghans when they first entered Bangash, the modern Kurram.³⁰ He deprecates any hasty conjecture that they were Buddhists, as the Akhund Darveza says they were Kafirs, that is, non-Mussalmans, but he does not say they were Buddhists. Raverty adds that the Budlis were expelled from Nangrahar by Sultan Bahram, ruler of Pich and Lamghan Thence they fled eastwards, according to the Akhund, and there found others of their race. Raverty hazards a conjecture that the Awans, Kathars and Gakhars were some of the Budli or Budni tribes who crossed the Indus into the Sindh-Sagar Doab.

In the Peshawar valley we find the Khands, but it is doubtful whether they can be regarded as even very early settlers in that tract, though it is tempting to connect their name with the Gandhara.

In the Central Punjab Murray³¹ describes the Kathis as "a pastoral tribe, and as Jun, their other name denotes, they live an erratic life." But Sir Alexander Cunningham correctly describes the Juns as distinct from the Kathis, though he says that both tribes are tall, comely and long-lived races, who feed vast herds of camels and black cattle which provide them with their loved libations of milk. Cunningham, however appears to be speaking of the Jan, 'a wild and lawless tribe' of the Southern Bari Doab, which has apparently disappeared as completely as the Jun, though Capt. J.D. Cunningham, writing in 1849, speaks of the Jans as being, like the Bhattis, Sials, Karrals, Kathis and other Tribes, both pastoral and predatory: see his *History of the Sikhs*, p. 7.

In the Northern Punjab tradition assigns the whole of the modern Sialkot district to the Yakars or Years, who lived in *juns* (*jans*), or rude mud huts. The Years also held the Jech and Sindh-Sagar Doabs, and were known as Jhuns and Puchedas in the Rechna Doab, and in the Bari Doab as Bhular, Man and Her, the three original tribes of the great Jat 'caste'. The Shoon Dul were also recorded as the most powerful tribe in the Punjab in the time of Bikramajit.³² It is impossible to say whence these traditions were obtained or what substratum of truth there may be in them? The Jhuns, Juns or Jans thus appear to have left a widespread tradition, yet they are unknown to history, unless

we may conjecture that they preserve the name of Yona or Yavanas, the territory of the Graeco-Bactrian King Milinda whose capital was Sagala.³³

The aborigines of Lahul were the Mon or Mon-pas, and Cunningham thought that the ancient sub-Himalayan people were the Mon or as they are called in Tibetan, Molan.

TRIBAL AREAS AND TRIBAL NAMES

The Punjab is studded with tracts of very varying size, which derive their names from the tribes which now, or at some recent period, held sway therein. Along its northern border lie the Khattar,³⁴ Kahutani and Bala Gheb tracts in Rawalpindi. The Bala Gheb or Gahep, literally Upper Gheb, derives its name from the Ghebas. It is held by Ghebas calling themselves Rewals of Mughal descent.³⁵ The Ghebas also gave their name to Pindi Gheb, a township now held by the Jodhras. According to Raverty, Chakkawal, now Chakwal, was one of the principal places in "the Dhani Gahep"—Dhani being the name of the tract, and Gahep a great Jat tribe. But the Gahep cannot be other than the Gheba and they do not now hold the Dhani, 'west Chakwal' tahsil. The name Dhani appears to give their name to the Dhanial Rajputs and to be so called from *dhan*, 'wealth', owing to its fertility.³⁶ The Kahuts have given their name to the Kahutani tract in Chakwal tahsil and the Kahuta hills and town preserve memories of their former seats. The Bugial tract, described by Cunningham as lying on the bank of the Jhelum under Balnath, is also called Baisgram or the 22 villages. Cunningham says it derives its name from the Bugial branch of the Janjuas, but as there is also a Gakkhar sept of that name he suggests that the Bugial septs in both those tribes derive their name from the locality—a not improbable conjecture.³⁷ The Awans hold the Kwankari in the Salt Range and a smaller tract in the Jullundur District bears the same name.

In the District of Gujrat, a name which itself denotes the territory of the Gujars,³⁸ lie the Herat and Jatatar. The latter clearly means the Jat realm, but the derivation of Herat is obscure. It is popularly derived from Herat in Afghanistan, but this derivation is hardly tenable. Cunningham³⁹ derived Hairat, which he says is the original name of the city of Gujrat, as Hairat-des was of the district, from the Aratta.

But tempting as the derivation is, it is difficult to accept it. The Aratta appear to be identical with the Sanskrit Arashtraka, 'the king-less',⁴⁰ which name is well preserved in Justin's Arestae, Arrian's Adraistae, and the Andrestae of Diodorus. But Aratta was also equivalent to Madra, Jartikka, and the 'thieving Bahika' of the *Mahabharata*, as the Kathaei of Sangala (? Sialkot) are stigmatized in that poem.⁴¹ The term king-less might well have been applied to the democratic Punjab tribes of that period, but it is doubtful if the Her Jat tribe derives its name from Aratta. The modern Jatatar does not quite correspond to the ancient country of the Jartikas whose capital Sakala lay on the Apaga (now the Aik) to the west of the Ravi, if we are to understand that the Jartikas did not extend to the west of the Chenab. But the Madra country or Madrades is said by some to extend as far west as the Jhelum, though others say it only extends to the Chenab, so that the modern Jatatar may well represent a Jartika tract of the Madrdes, if we may assume that the term Jartika was strictly only applicable to the western tribes of the Madr-des:⁴² Cunningham also records that in the Chaj or Chinhat Doab we find a Ranja Des, so called from the Ranjha tribe, and a Tarar *tappa*, while in the Rachna Doab we have a Chima Des, to the South and west of Sialkot. The two latter names are derived from the Jat tribes which predominate in those tracts, but all three appear to be obsolescent if not obsolete.⁴³

Further east, in Sialkot, lies the Bajwat⁴⁴ or territory of the Baju Rajputs, whom it is tempting to identify with the Bahikas of Sakala or Sagala. In Gurdaspur the Riar Jats give their name to the Riarki tract.

In Jullundur the Manj ki Dardhak or Dardhak, which appears as a *mahal* in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, included the modern tahsil of Rahon with parts of Phillaur and Phagwara. The Manj or Manjki tract, on the other hand, includes the western part of the Phillaur tahsil and a large part of Nakodar. The modern Grand Trunk Road separates the Manj tract from the Dardhak. It is, however, doubtful whether either tract derives its name from the Manj tribe. Quite possibly the Manj or Manjki is named from the tribe which held it, but it is not impossible that the tribe takes its name from the soil or the situation of the tract.

In Hoshiarpur the Khokhars hold the Khokharain, a tract on the

Kapurthala border. And the Jaswan Dun⁴⁵ is named from, or more probably gives its name to, the Jaswal Rajputs.

The Gaddis of Chamba and Kangra occupy the Gadderan, a tract which lies across the Dhaola Dhar.

It is very doubtful if the name Kulu can be derived from the Koli tribe, but in the Simla Hills the Thakurs gave their name to the Thakurain.⁴⁶

In the Simla Hills the Mangal Kanets give their name to the Mangal tract, while the petty fief of Rawahin or Rawain is probably so named from the Rao or Rahu Kanets. In Hissar the Punwar Rajputs held a Punwarwati.

In the extreme south-east of the Province lies part of the Mewat, so called after the Meos, but in the turn it gives its name to the Mewatis, or people of the Mewat. The Mewat further comprises the Dhangalwati, Naiwara and Pahatwara, three tracts named after the *pals* of the Meos which hold them. The Jat country round Palwal⁴⁷ is also called the Jatiyat, and the Ahir country round Rewari, the Ahirwati. But the latter term is apparently only used by the Ahirs themselves, as the Meos call the country west of Rewari the Rath or Bighauta. The Rath is also said to be distinct from Bighauta and to be one of the four tracts held by the Alanot Chauhans. It was the largest of those tracts, lying for the most part in Alwar, but including the town of Narnaul, which was also named Narrashtra.⁴⁸ Narrashtra must, however, be the name of a tract, not a city, and it is suggested that Rath is derived from Narrashtra. The Rath is said to have lain to the south of Bighauta, which tract followed the course of the Kasaoti river stretching southwards along the west of the modern tahsil of Rewari in Gurgaon. The Dhandoti tract lay between Bighauta and Hariana. It was a sandy stretch of country running from east to west across the centre of the Jhajjar tahsil.—P.N.Q.I., §§ 133, 370, 618.

The Bhattis give their name to atleast two tracts, the Bhattiana which comprised the valley of the Ghaggar from Fatehabad in Hissar to Bhatner in the Bikaner State, together with part of the dry country stretching north-west of the Ghaggar towards the old bank of the Sutlej; and also to the Bhattiora, a considerable tract in Jhang lying between the Shah Jiwana villages in the west and the Lali country in the east. The Bhattiora is thus in the Chiniot tahsil, north of the Chenab.

Numerous place-names, such as Bhatner, which Cunningham appears to identify with Bhatistala,⁴⁹ Pindi Bhattian and Bhatiot, are called after this tribe. According to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, the Bhattiyat in Chamba is probably also named from the Bhatti caste, but it does not appear that any such caste was ever settled in Chamba. Bhattiyat appears to be a modern form, and Dr. Vogel thinks its termination is a Persian plural. It has lately been introduced into official documents, and it is often indicated by the name Bara Bhattian, which points to its having once consisted of 12 *parganas*. Geographically nearly the whole of this territory belongs to the Kangra valley, and it is noted as the recruiting ground for the Chamba army.⁵⁰ It is suggested that its name is derived from *bhata*, a soldier, and that it means 'the 12 fiefs held on a military tenure' or simply 'the 12 military *parganas*.'

The Gondal Jats give their name to the Gondal Bar, the length of which is some 30 *kos* from north-east to south-west, with a breadth of 20 *kos*. It is difficult to accept Cunningham's identification of this tract with the Gandaris of Strabo, which was subject to the younger Porus, and it is not correct to speak of the Gundal or Gundar Bar *Doab*, as this Bar never gave its name to the tract between the Jhelum and the Chenab, nor does its upper portion now form the Gujarat district. The people of Gandaris, the Gandaridae, are also said to have been subjects of Sophytes. Gandaris, therefore appears to have stretched right across the Chenab from the Jhelum to the Ravi, its western portion being held by Sophytes, while its eastern part was subject to the younger Porus.

In the North-West Frontier Province the Pathan tribes give their names to many tracts, such as Yusufzai, Razzar, Marwat as well as to numerous villages. Instances of other tribes giving names to tracts are however rare, though in Dera Ismail Khan there is another Jatatar.

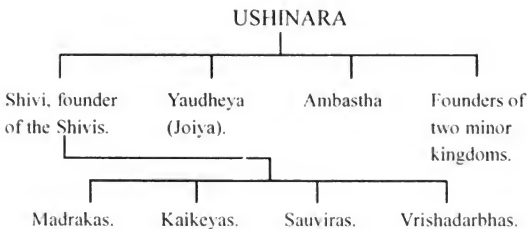
The whole question of these tribal areas is one of considerable interest and corresponding difficulty. The system under which a tract is named after the tribe which holds it or is dominant in it must be one of great antiquity, as indeed we know it to have been in other parts of India. Yet in the Punjab the only tribal tract-name of any antiquity seems to be Gujarat. In Kashmir the Khashas gave their name to the valley of Khasalaya, now Khaishal, which leads from the Marbal Pass down to Kishtwar. But with hardly an exception the ancient tribal

names of the Punjab have disappeared. Thus Varahamihira writes: 'In North-East, Mount Meru, the kingdom of those who have lost caste, the nomads (Pashupalas, possibly worshippers of Pashupati, or more probably cattle-owners), the Kiras, Kashmiras, Abhisaras, Daradas (Dards), Tanganas, Kulutas (people of Kulu), Sairindhra (who may possibly be 'people of Sihra'⁵¹), Forest men, Brahmapuras (of the ancient kingdom whose name survives in Bharmaur in Chamba), Damaras (a Kashmir tribe, but Dammars are also found on the Indus), Foresters, Kiratas, Chinas (doubtless the Shins of Gilgit, but we still find Chhina and China Jats in the Punjab plains), Kaunindas, Bhallas (still the name of a Khatri section), Patolas (unidentified), Jatasuras (? Jatts, or Jat heroes or warriors), Kunatas, Khashas, Ghoshas and Kuchikas'. Here we have not only tribal names but also occupational terms and ghosha and Kuchika recall the *goshfandwal* or sheep-folk and *kuchis* or nomads of Dera Ismail Khan. There are difficulties in nearly every identification suggested, as for instance in deriving Kanet from Kunata or Kuninda (Kauninda), as Grierson points out, the more so in that the Kulu people are already mentioned once as Kulutas and we should have to identify the Kunindas with the Kanets of the hills excluding Kulu.⁵² But it is not necessary to find a racial term in every name. If we insist on doing so the number of tribes becomes bewildering.

To the above several names may be added from various works. Thus, the *Mahabharata* classes the Madras, Gandharas, Vasatis, Sindhus and Sauviras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus) with the despicable Bahikas. We have still a Jat tribe called Sindhu and its name can only be derived from Sindh or the Indus, but no trace exists of the Madras, Vasatis and Sauviras. To this list remain to be added the Prasthalas whose name suggests some connection with *pratisthana* and who may have been the people settled round Pathankot or akin to the Pathan. Then, we have the Kankas, Paradas (apparently associated with the Daradas), Tukharas, all from the north-west⁵³ and Ambasthanas,⁵⁴ who were close to the Madras, besides tribes like the Arattas already mentioned.

Why should these tribes have nearly all disappeared, leaving no certain trace even in place-names? The answer appears to be that they were non-Brahmanical in creed and foreigners by race. 'When shall I

next sing the songs of the Bahikas in this Sagala town', says the poet of the *Mahabharata*, 'after having feasted on cow's flesh and drunk strong wine? When shall I again, dressed in fine garments in the company of fair-complexioned, large-sized women, eat much mutton, pork, beef and the flesh of fowls, asses and camels?' The Bahikas can only be the Bahlika tribe which came from Balkh (Bahlika) and in close connexion with them we find the Magadhas, the warrior class of Shakadwipa or Persia, spoken of contemptuously. The Bahikas had no *Veda* and were without knowledge. They ate any kind of food from filthy vessels, drank the milk of sheep, camels and asses and had many bastards. The Arattas in whose region they lived occupied the country where the six rivers emerge from the low hills, *i.e.* the sub-montane from Rugar to Attock, yet they are described as the offspring of two Pishachas who dwelt on the Beas. But the value of such a pedigree is well described by Mr. J. Kennedy.⁵⁶ As he says, 'primitive men rarely, perhaps never, conceive of a great country, the Punjab, for instance, as a whole; they name a tract after the people who inhabit it or they give it a descriptive title.' And some of its tribes may in turn derive their names from those descriptive titles. 'It is only in a more advanced stage that they arrive at the conception of a country inhabited by various peoples, as a unity, and give it a common name, and when they do they invent for it and its inhabitants a common ancestor. This is the eponymous ancestor. A felt community of interests is only conceivable as a community of blood'. The Punjab furnishes an excellent illustration of this. Anu is the progenitor of all the Punjab tribes. Eighth in descent from him we have—



But the Shivis and Ushinaras are as old as the Anus. All that the pedigree indicates is a growing sense of national unity cemented by the fiction or revival of racial kinship.

Local legends in the Punjab itself rarely throw much light on its history or ethnology, but on the North-West Frontier legendary history though hopelessly inaccurate is sometimes interesting.

"The following" writes Mr. U.P. Barton, C.S., "is the legendary history of Kurram as related at the present day. The aboriginal inhabitants were *deus* or demons who lived under the domination of their king, known as the Sufed Deo, or white devil. This mythical kingdom was finally broken up by two equally mythical personages styled Shudani and Budani who are said to have been brothers. They came with a great army from the north and after fierce fighting overthrew the armies of the demons. The legend gives full details of the last great battle in which the *deos* finally succumbed, but it is hardly worth while to repeat them. I may mention that a Dum resident in Zeran claims to be a descendant of the victorious brothers. Having completed the conquest of Kurram the invaders settled in the valley, where their descendants held sway for many centuries, until displaced by fresh immigrations from the north. There may be a grain of truth in the legend implying, as seems to be the case, the extinction of the aborigines by an invading horde of Aryas.

I have not been able to trace any other legend of local origin. It is true that the people delight in legendary lore, but the stories most recounted are almost invariably the common property of the Afghans generally. Doubtless the 'Dums' are largely responsible for the wide range of these tales of the people. I give the following of those most frequently heard—

Once upon a time there was a king of the fairies named Nimbulla. He had a friend named Timbulla. The two friends often made visits to far off countries together. On one occasion they were travelling through the Swat valley, when they met a girl named Begam Jan. She was very beautiful and Nimbulla fell in love with her. This Begam Jan was the daughter of a Khan of the Swat valley. Nimbulla took invisible possession of his inamorata to the great consternation of the Khan, her father, and his court. Every effort was

made by the *mullas* or priests from far and near to exorcise the spirit but in vain. At length a famous *mulla*, Bahadur by name, appeared on the scene, and promised to expel the fairy's soul from the girl, on condition that the girl herself should be the reward of his efforts. The Khan promised his daughter to the priest who after great exercise of prayer succeeded in exercising the spirit which together with that of Nimbullah he confined in an earthen pot. Both fairies were then burnt, despite the entreaties of the seven sisters of the captives. The *mulla* was then united with the rescued fair one. But he had incurred the enmity of the fairy tribe by his treatment of the two friends, and in an unwary moment was seized by the *deos* and ignominiously hanged. This is a very favourite legend and the Dums frequently sing metrical versions of it at weddings and other occasions of rejoicing.

Yet another legend of Yusufzai origin is often recited by the Kurram Dums. It enshrines the lives of Musa Khan and Gulmakai, their quarrels and final reconciliation. It is very wellknown I believe on the Peshawar side, and has probably been already recorded.

The legend of Fath Khan and Bibi Rabia is of Kandahari origin. Here a male friend named Karami shares the affections of the husband, an irregularity which leads to the estrangement of Bibi Rabia from her spouse. Meanwhile the Kandaharis attack general Shams-u-Din, one of the Mughal emperor Akbar's leading soldiers, on his way to India *via* Ghuzni. The Kandaharis are defeated and Fath Khan mortally injured. On his death-bed he is reconciled with his wife who remains faithful to his memory after his death, refusing to remarry. This also is a very common legend among the Afghans."

Colonel H.P.P. Leigh writes as follows:—"Close to Kirman is a peculiar mushroom shaped stone, which is the subject of a curious legend—

At this spot, Hamza, son of Mir Hamza, nephew of the Imam Ali is said to have given battle to the armies to Langahur and Soghar Kafirs, in the time gone by. They were defeated and Hamza is said they have erected this stone to commemorate his victory. It is a time work block of granite, with a thin vein of quartz running through it, which is looked upon as the mark of Hamza's sword. It is state that colossal bones are found occasionally in the vicinity, and cuaiouses enough, not many yards from the spot is a line of three enormous

graves, each six paces in length, the head and heel stones are blocks of granite, deeply sunk in the earth, and the intermediate spaces filled in with earth and smaller stones. They have an ancient look, and are confidently pointed out as the graves of Kafirs. Close by is another block of granite, with a perfect bowl hollowed in it, apparently by water action. This is said to be Hamza's *kachkol* or *faqir's* dish. On the edge of the cliff some way up the torrent, which dashes down from the Para Chakmauni hills, are the ruins of a village, which is still known as Langahur, and which are put down as having been a Kafir's habitation. Coins have been found there, of which, however none are forthcoming, but from the description of the figure with Persian cap and flowing skirts, would be probably those of Kadphises, King of Kabul in about 100 A.D.

On the west frontier of Upper Bangash in the *kot* of Matah-i-Zakhmi, or Matah the wounded, so called from a legend that the Khalifa, Ali, killed an infidel, Matah, with his sword Zul-akar at this spot.⁵⁷

Thus an investigation of the traditional aborigines of the Punjab yields results nearly as negative and barren as those given by a study of the historical data. From a very early period it was usual to define status in terms of race. The lower functional groups thus became defined by names denoting impure descent, or by names which connoted unnatural unions. Thus, the lowest outcast who performed worse than menial functions was defined as the son of a Brahman woman by a Sudra, and called a Chandal.⁵⁸ conversely any man who rose in the social scale became a Jat or yeoman, a Rajput or Sahu, *i.e.* 'gentle', and so on. If a Rajput family lost its status it became Jat or Kanet, and son on. But it does not follow that it did not adopt a racial or tribal name. Thus, while we may be certain that Rajput was never a racial name and that it is absurd to speak of a 'Rajput race' we cannot be at all sure that there never was a Jat race or tribe. All that we can say is that when the *Dabistan* was written more than two centuries ago its author was aware that the term Jat meant a villager, a rustic *par excellence* as opposed to one engaged in trade or handicraft, and it was only when the Jatts of Lahore and the Jats of the Jumna acquired power that the term became restricted and was but still only occasionally employed to mean simply one of that particular race.⁵⁹

But, however uncertain may be any of the current identifications of modern Punjab tribes with those mentioned in history we may accept without misgivings the theory first propounded by Hoerole and supported by the weighty authority of Sir George Grierson. According to this theory there were two series of invasions of India by the so called Aryans, a name which was probably itself not racial in its origin. The first series or their invasions took place at a time when the regions stretching from the heart of Persia to the western marches of India were still fairly well watered and fertile. Some early 'Aryan' tribes—tribes, that is, of superior culture—parting from their Iranian kinsmen, slowly moved on foot and in waggons with their women, flocks and herds over those regions, perhaps by the Kabul valley, but also very possibly by other passes to its south, entered India on the northwestern border and established themselves in the Punjab, where most of the *Rig Veda* took shape. As they had brought their own women with them and generally avoided union with the aboriginal races, at any rate among their upper classes, they were able to keep their blood comparatively pure; and hence we find to this day in the Punjab a physical type predominating which in many respects resembles that of certain European races, and is radically different from the typical characteristics of the other Indian stocks, although the Punjab has been for thousands of years the gate of Hindustan, and wave after wave of invasion has swept through it to break on the plains beyond.

After these Aryas had passed on into the Punjab, the same thing happened on the northwestern marches as has taken place in Turkestan. The rivers and streams slowly dried up, and the desert laid a dead hand upon the once fertile lands. The road was now closed for ever closed to slow migrations of families; it could be traversed only by swiftly moving troops. Henceforth the successive waves of foreign invasion, though for a time they might overwhelm Hindustan, could not leave any deep and lasting change in the racial characteristics of the Indian peoples; for the desert forbade the invaders to bring with them enough women to make a colony of their own race.⁶⁰

To the type of this second series of migrations belong all the invasions which have poured over the Punjab in more recent times. The Afghan has made remarkably little impression upon its population east of the Indus. Scattered Pathan families, hardly forming septs, exist

all over the Punjab in places where Pathan garrisons were located by the later Mughals or where Pathan soldiers of fortune obtained grants on feudal tenures from the Muhammedan emperors. Moreover the Pathan tribes, as we know them, are by no means ancient and their earliest settlements in the Peshawar valley and other tracts now pre-eminently Pathan do not go back much farther than the 14th century. The Mughals have left remarkably slight traces on the population compared with the mass and power of their invasions, and no one who reads the histories of their inroads can fail to be struck with their ephemeral devastating character. Few Mughal villages exist, because they never founded colonies. Traces of their domination are perhaps strongest in Hazara, but in the Punjab itself they have never amalgamated with the rest of the Muhammedan population though the Chughattai *gots*, or sections, found in certain artizan castes may owe their origin to guilds of Mughal artificers incorporated in those castes. To go a little further back the Gakkhars are probably a tribe of Turki origin whose founders were given fiefs in the Rawalpindi hills by Timur's earlier descendants. They are certainly distinct from the Khokhars who if not demonstrably indigenous were probably allies of the earlier Muhammad in invaders, like the Awans. Working backwards in this way it is not difficult to form some idea of the way in which one modern Punjab population has been formed. The Pathan or Iranian element is slight, the Mughal or Turki still slighter, while the Arab element is practically negligible. Behind the Arab and the later Muhammedan invasions which began under Mahmud of Ghazni we have dim traditions of Persian overlordship, but we cannot assign an Iranian origin to any one tribe with certainty. A gap of centuries separates the Getae and Yuechi from the earliest allusion to the Jats by the Muhammedan historians of India.

We may think with Lassen that the Jats are the *Jartikas* of the *Mahabharata* and it is doubtless quite possible that the term *Jartika* meant originally yeoman or landholder as opposed to a trader or artizan, or was the name of a tribe which had reached the agricultural stage, and that it was then adopted by a mass of tribes which owned land or tilled it and had come to look down upon the more backward pastoral tribes. The modern Khatri is undoubtedly the ancient Kshatriya, though he had taken, like the Lombard, to trade so

thoroughly that Cunningham speaks of him as the Katri or grain-seller as if his name were derived from *katra* or market.⁶¹

Appendix to Part III-A note on the people of Chilas by Col. Ommaney.

The inhabitants of Chilas are known generally as Bhultai, so called from Bhulta, a son of Karrar, an Arab, who came from Kashiral (Kashmir) where an ancestor of his first settled. The descendants of Karrar are called by the inhabitants themselves Shin: the Pathans called them Rana. Four classes now reside in Chilas:

Shin = rana

Yashkun?

Kamin.

Dum.

The Shin do not give their female relations in marriage to the inferior classes, though they can take women from them the same principle is observed by the inferior classes towards one another.

The Shin are divided into 4 classes,⁶² as it were, who divided the country into 4 equal shares and apparently each class gave a portion to the Yashkun class who perhaps helped the Shin class to conquer the country. The Yashkuns appear to have more rights in land than the other two classes who only hold small plots by purchase on condition of service, but a Yashkun cannot sell or mortgage his land without the consent of the Shin proprietary body nor even lease it without permission.

The residents of Chilas are also called Dards, but can give no reason for it. The Chilasi tribe in Darrial (or-el) north of the Indus shave the head leaving a lock of hair on top but they do not shave the upper lip.

REFERENCES

1. *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, January.—What follows is practically taken from this invaluable paper with details and illustrations added to emphasise the applicability of Professor Bhandarkar's thesis to these Provinces. That the present writer is in entire accord with them will be apparent from his paper in *Man*, Vol. VIII, July 1980, No. 52. Mr. W. Croore's important paper on

the Stability of Caste and Tribal Groups in India (Journal of the Anthropological Institute. 1914, Vol. XLIV, p. 270 ff) may also be consulted with advantage.

2. The ruling family of Koti, a feudatory of Keonthal State, in the Simla Hills, is a branch of the Kotlehr Rajas. Its *got* is said to be Kamdima, and the children of its founder Ram Pal, being of a Rajput wife, became Rajputs. Simla Hill States *Gazetteer*, Koti, p. 5.
3. *Ibid.*, Jubbal, p. 4. The legend is of much interest as showing the absence of prejudice against widow re-marriage also.
4. See Vol. II, post., p. 501.
5. Vol. II, p. 127.
6. This rule comes from the *Mitakshara*.
7. Cap. X, v. 64. It is suggested that by children, *female* children must be meant. It is not clear that *male* offspring could regain the full status of a Brahman.
8. *Srujat* is equivalent to the Panjabi *surat*, Pashtu *suracat*. Such women are in Lahul termed *chunma* or workers.
9. Kangra *Gazetteer*, Parts II to IV, 1899, p. 26 of Part III, Lahul. It is not stated that any such condition is in force, but judging by analogies it is highly probable that it exists.
10. The son of a Brahman who married a Kshatriya woman by *anuloma* was apparently himself a Brahman.
11. This surname surely points to a northern origin.
12. 'Chamberlain,' *lit.* doorkeeper. This is, however doubted by Professor Bhandarkar. The Pratiharas are represented in the modern Punjab by the Parihar Jats in Dera Gnazi Khan. Pratiharas is the Sanskritized form of Padihar. For the office of *pratihara*, see Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba*, pp. 135 and 234.
13. Or rather 'Meds and Bhfla.' Colebrooke does not explain all these names. Rajaka is not traceable. Platts gives *birafait* as a bard or bowman, but it can hardly powder maker.
14. See Vol. II, p. 151, s. v. Chanal.
15. Vol. II, p. 136. Cf. the footnote on p. 139 as to the origin of the Sawani Brahmans.
16. The real Kanets of Patan who are Hindus look down upon the Kanets of Gara and Rangloi and call them Botzat and regard them as of inferior caste. But this may be due to the fact that they are Buddhists; see Kangra, *Gazetteer*, 1897, Parts II to IV, Part III, p. 25, compared with the top of p. 21. Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 271, accepts the present writer's view that Sir

T.H. Holland's conclusions, referred to at p. 456, Vol. II *infra*, regarding the Kanets are vitiated by his failure to distinguish between the mixed and unmixed groups of the Kanets in Lahul.

17. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 1089.
18. See Vol. II, p. 5. Are we to take it that the Nand-bansi Ahirs are descended from Abhiran who adopted the cult of Krishna, while the Jadubansi are descended from those who took Yadava wives, *i.e.* intermarried with the indigenous races? The legend goes that Arjuna, after cremating Krishna and Balarama, was marching through the Punjab to Mathura with the Yadava widows, when he was waylaid by the Abhiras and robbed of his treasures and beautiful women.
19. This agrees with Abu Rihan-al-Beruni, who says that the names of Multan were Kasht-, Hans-, Bag and finally Sanhpur. Mulisthan was the name of the idol and from it is derived the modern mine of the town. The temple of the Sun was styled Aditya. Below it was a vault for storing gold. See Raverty in J.A.S.B., 1892, Part I, pp. 191 *et seqq.* Elliot's translations in his *History of India*, I, pp. 14, 15, 35, were incorrect.
20. The sage Rjihva, of the Mihira *gotra*.
 |
 Surya, the Sun x Nakshubha.
 |
 Jarashasta or Jarashabda—equated to Jaratusta or Zoroastor.
 Mihirs is the Sauskritized form of the Old Persian *mihr*.
21. If Professor Bhandarkar's information is correct the derivation of Bhojki suggested on p. 107 of Vol. II is untenable and the Bhojkia of Kangra are the Magas or Bhojakas.
22. E.H.I. III, p. 494, *cf.* p. 431.
23. Mihirakula is the Sanskritised form of Mihrgul 'Rose of the Sun.'
24. Professor Bhandarkar says that Huna is nowadays found as a family name in the Punjab, but the present writer has not come across it. He is, however, in entire agreement with Professor Bhandarkar's view that the Rajput Hunas are Huns by origin see *Man*, 1908, p. 100.
25. This theory leaves unexplained the dislike and contempt in which the Gujars are held by other tribes. Even when, as in Attock, good cultivators and well-to-do, they seem to be looked upon as little better than menials, and the appointment of a Gujar to any place of authority over any other tribe is always the signal for disturbance: Attock *Gazetteer*, 1907, p. 91.
26. To the references given by Professor Bhandarkar may be added Raverty's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 110, 200, etc. 'Nagaur of Siwalikh' was spoken of in early Muhammedan times. The tract from the Sutlej to the Ganges

- extending as far south as Hansi was called the Siwalikh, and some native writers include the whole of the Alpine Punjab below the higher ranges from the Ganges to Kashmir under the name of Koh-i-Siwalikh, *ibid.* p. 165. As to the Ahichhatra, which Jaiua works also mention as the capital of Jingala, placed in the *Mahabharata* near Madreya, it appears to be the modern Arura in Ludhiana, identified with Ahichatta by the late Sir Atar Singh of Bhadaur. But Hatur was also called Aichata Nagri, as well as Arhatpur. Cunningham identified Bhadaur with Arhatpurs Ludhiana *Gazetteer*, 1904, pp. 14 and 227.
27. Vol. II, p. 121.
 28. Professor Bhandarkar postulates atleast three Ahichchhatras, one in the United Provinces, about 22 miles north of Badaun, a second not located and a third in the Him layas in the Jangala country near Madreya, which was situated between the Chenab and Sutlej. If the Madreya is to be identified with the Madra Des the Jangala would certainly appear to be the modern Jangal tract of the Malwa country, south of the present Sutlej valley, and Arura lies in this tract. Probably there were two Ahichchhatras in the Punjab, to wit, Arura, and one in the Himalaya, possibly in Kangra, in which District Chhatt is still the name of a village. But a Chhatt is also found near Banur in Patiala territory. And the place-name may be connected with the institution of *chhat* and *makan* among the Rajputs.
 29. *Bonnu or our Afghan Frontier*, p. 14. Pothi suggests a connection with Pothohar or war.—a region lying between the Jhelum river and the Indus. 'But strictly speaking, the limits of Pothwar are confined to the four ancient *parganas* of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, viz., Fatehpur Baori, now Rawalpindi, Akbarabad Tarkhpari, Dangali and Pharwala or Pharhala.'—*J.G. Delmerick* in P.N.Q.I., § 617.
 30. *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 380-81.
 31. *History of the Punjab*, p. 38.
 32. Prinsep's *Sialkot Settlement Report*, 1865, p. 38-9.
 33. Cunningham's *Anolent Geography of India*, p. 186.
 34. From the Khattar tribe, according to the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, 1868-84 but the name appears to be obsolete as applied to the tract held by this tribe.
 35. *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, 1893-94, p. 57. Rewal is apparently a mistake. Rawal can hardly be meant.
 36. The statement that the Dhani give their name to the Dhani, on p. 235 of Vol. II, is made on Ibbetson's authority: *Census Rep.* 1881, § 453. The Dhani is very variously defined. One writer says it is the same as Pothwar: P.N.Q.I., § 380. The Eastern Dhani was a lake which was only drained

under Babur's orders. It was held by Gujar graziers from whom the Kahuts collected revenue to remit to Delhi: *Jhelum Gazetteer* 1904 p. 109. It was called Balu ki Dhan from Bal. ancestor of the Kassars or Maluki Dhan from the Janjua chief Mal of Malot: *ib.*, pp. 107-09. Lastly *dhan* appears to mean a pool or lake.

37. A.S.R. II, p. 27. For the Bugial *mandis*, see p. 267 of Vol. II, *infra*.
38. Gujrat denotes the Gujar *tract*: Gujranwala the Gujars *village*: a distinction overlooked in Baden Powell's *Indian Village Community*.
39. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 179.
40. According to Grierson this is a doubtful explanation: *The Pahari Language*, p. 4, note 27, in *Ind. Ant.*, 1915.
41. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
43. A.S.R.II. p. 56. He also mentions Miam Gondal but that is only a village.
44. Prinsep (*Sialkot Settlement Report*, 1865, p. 39) gives the form Bajwant. This would appear to be the older form of the word: *e.g. cf.* Pathanti and Nadaunti. The former appears to be the country round Pathankot, the latter the tract round the town of Nadaun. Cunningham, however, calls the country round Pathankot Pathawat, a name now apparently obsolete: *op. cit.*, p. 144.
45. It is possible that the ancient form of the name was Jaswant: *cf.* Bajwant and Nadaunti.
46. In Kulu the *thakurain* was the period of the Thakurs' rule.
47. It is suggested that Palwal may be the Upaplavya of the *Mahabharata*. It was the capital of the king of Matasya who brought mountain chiefs in his train. Pargiter suggests that the Matayas must have come from the northern part of the Aravalli hills, but it is suggested that they are the modern Meos. Palwal is nowadays said to mean 'countersign'.
48. Phulkian States *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 197. For the folk-etymologies of Narnaul see G Yazdani's paper in J.A.S.B., 1907, p. 581.
49. The derivation of Bhathinda from the trihal name Bhatti, put forward in Vol. II, p. 101, must be abandoned. Its ancient name was Tabarhindh or possibly Batrind. But the latter name can hardly be derived from Bhatti. See Phulkian States *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 189.
50. *The Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, pp. 4 and 13.
51. Sir George Grierson writes: 'I never saw the equation Sairindhra from Sihrind. It looks most enticing.'
52. Sir George Grierson writes in a private communication: As regards Kanet having derived from Kanishtha (junior or cadet) the derivation is

phonetically possible, but only possible and also improbable. From Kanishtha, we should ordinarily expect some such word as *Kanith*, with a cerebral t aspirated, whereas Kanet has a dental t unaspirated. These are isolated instances of such changes, but they are rare. I have a memory of a class of village messenger in Bihar called *kanail* (bowman, I think from *kan*, 'arrow'). Perhaps Kanet may have a similar origin. That is, however, a matter of history.'

53. Grierson says the Khashas and Tukharas were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshan, the Tokharistan of Muhammadan writers: see his valuable introduction to the volume of the Linguistic Survey dealing with the Pahari languages published in *Ind. Ant.*, 1915.
54. With the Kaikeyas the Ambasthas inhabited the Rawalpindi country and Gandhara in the days of Alexander according to J. Kennedy in *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 512. Possibly Amb in the Salt-Range may commemorate their name and locality. A discursive footnote might be written on the name of Ambastha. An Ambattha-*raja* appears in a Pali legend about the origin of the Shakiya and Koliya family: *ibid.*, p. 439. He had five wives, of whom three bore astronomical names. He disinherited his sons by his senior wife and they migrated to found a new colony. Does this mean that the Ambasthas were an offshoot of the fire-worshipping Iranians who settling in the Punjab were compelled to intermarry so closely that they were reputed to espouse their own sisters? Then again we have Ambastha = Vaidya, 'physician': Colebrooke's *Essays*, II, p. 160.
55. If the Jartikas, a clan of the Bahikas, be the modern Jats, the latter term may be after all Iranian and the nucleus of the Jat 'caste' Iranian by blood, a far less difficult hypothesis than the Indo-Scythian theory. Grierson says Bahika—'outsider' (*op. cit.*, p. 4) but is this anywhere stated? It would be quite natural for Brahmanical writers to style Bahlikas punningly Bahikas.
56. *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 511-2.
57. This seems a different place to the one mentioned in Colonel Leigh's note.
58. Vol. II, p. 151.
59. Capt. J.D. Cunningham, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 5. n.
60. Taken almost *verbatim*, from Dr. Lionel Barrett's *Antiquities of India*, p. 8.
61. *A.S.R.* II, p. 3.
62. Kotannai.
Bichwai.
Baitaramal.
Shaltingai.

4

Religions

SECTION I—THE RELIGION OF THE BON IN TIBET

It is difficult to say what the primitive religion of the Punjab or North-West corner of India must have been but easy to conjecture its general outlines. It was doubtless a form of Nature-worship, combined with magic, whose object was to attain power over the material universe generally and in particular to get children, ensure good harvests, and destroy enemies or atleast secure immunity from their onslaughts. A type of this primitive religion may have long survived the Vedic period in the Bon-chose or religion of the Bon pos. The Bon-chos was also called Lha-chos, or 'spirit cult', and in the Ling-chos of Ladakh we have probably the earliest type of it.¹

Unfortunately it is almost impossible to say what was the principle of this Bon² cult as its literature is relatively modern and an imitation of that of the Buddhists and the only ancient authorities on it which we possess are open to grave suspicion as being Buddhist works treating of the struggles which that religion had to sustain against that of the Bon. But it is generally agreed that it must have been a kind of rude *shaman*-ism, that is to say an animistic and at the same time fetishistic adoration of natural forces and of good and evil spirits, generally ill-disposed or rather perhaps benevolent or the reverse according as they were satisfied or discontented with the cult vouchsafed to them by means of prayers and incantations, sacrifices of victims and sacred dances—a form of religion close enough to the popular Taoism of the Chinese which indeed the Bon-pos themselves claim to have founded.

According to the Bon-pos' tradition their religion has gone through three phases called the Jola-Bon, Kyar-Bon and Gyur-Bon,

the last synchronising with the king Thisrong Detsan and his grandson Langdarma and having for its principal characteristic a number of ideas and practices adopted from Buddhism as well some elements borrowed from Indian philosophy, and the Tantric doctrine of the Sakti.

The gods of the Bon religion were those of the red meadow (the earth), of the sun, of heaven, King Kesar and his mother Gog-bzang lha-mo.³ But atleast as primitive were the *pho-lha* and *mo-lha* or deities of 'the male and female principle.'⁴ Sun-worship must have been important as the cult was also called Yung-drung-bon' or the *swastika-bon*.⁵

But the Bon-pos also recognise the existence of a supreme being Kuntu-bzang-po corresponding to Brahma, the universal soul of the Brahmans, and to the Adi Buddha of the Buddhists, the creator according to some, but only the spectator according to others, of a spontaneous creation issuing from the eternal void. When the functions of a creator are attributed to him he is assigned a spouse or *yum*, literally 'mother,' representing his active energy with which he engenders gods, men and all beings. Beneath him come Kyung, the chief spirit of chaos, under the form of a blue eagle, 18 great gods and goddesses, 70,000 secondary gods, innumerable genii and a score of principal saints all eager to fight for mankind against the demons.⁶

But the most important personage of the Bon pantheon, more worshipped perhaps than Kuntu-bzangpo, himself, is the prophet Senrab-Mibo, held to be an incarnation of the Buddha and believed to have been himself reincarnated in China in the philosopher Lao-Tseu, the patron of Taoism. To him is attributed the mystic prayer, *Om! ma-trihmou-ye'-sa lah-du* which in the Bon takes the place of the Buddhist invocation *Om! mani padme-hum* and whose eight syllables represent Kuntu-bzangpo, his Sakti, the gods, genii, men, animals, demons and hell, as well as the sacred dance called that of the white demon, the different kinds of rosaries corresponding to the different degrees of meditation, the offerings of alcoholic liquors made to propitiate the spirits and in brief almost all the necromantic rites relating to funerals, to exorcism and to the means of averting the effects of evil omens. During his long religious career he was served by Vugupa, a demon with nine heads, whom he had overcome by his exorcisms and converted by his eloquence. The practices inculcated

by him form almost all that we know about the actual worship of the Bon-pos who, according to the Lamas, have also borrowed a part of the mystic and magic ritual from Lamaistic Buddhism. The Bon in its animism and demonolatry is very like the cults of the Mongolian and Siberian *shamans* in which dances (or sacred dramas acted by mimes), offerings, the drinking of intoxicating liquors, and animal sacrifices, especially those of sheep, play a considerable part. They also immolate birds to the spirits of the dead and fowls to demons.

As in all animistic religions the Bon priest is above all a sorcerer. His principal functions are to propitiate by his prayers and sacrifices the genii who are ready to be benevolent, to put to flight or destroy by exorcism those whose malevolence causes devastating storms, floods, drought, epidemic disease, accidents and even the countless little privations of daily life. As an astrologer he reads the sky and draws up horoscopes of birth, marriage and death—for one must ascertain the posthumous fate of those one loved—and teaches means of averting evil omens. As a diviner he discloses the secrets of the future, discovers hidden treasures, traces thieves by inspection of the shoulder-blades of sheep, by cards, dice, the flight of birds or opening a sacred book at random. As a doctor he treats men and animals with simples but more often with charms and incantations, an obvious proceeding, since all sickness is the work of demons. In a word, as depository of all knowledge sacred and profane he teaches children a little reading writing and arithmetic, but above all the precepts of religion.

The Bon priesthood is trained by ascetic exercises, the study of the sacred books, magic and sorcery and to submit itself to certain rules of monastic discipline, celibacy included, though that does not seem to be an absolute obligation. Their morals are said to be lax, and their conduct anything but exemplary. They live in monasteries, often very large and wealthy, called *bon-ling*, under the direction of an elected superior. But it is also said that some of these superiors of certain large monasteries are perpetual incarnations of Senrab-Mibo or other gods. There are also nunneries of women who are called Bon-mos.

Bon ethics, eschatology and metaphysics are closely allied to those of Buddhism, but less regard is paid to the principle of *ahinsa*

or the preservation of all life. The Lamas indeed accuse the Bon-pos of plagiarising from their books and they have certainly borrowed from Buddhism the story that a synod or council was held in the land of Mangkar, at which sages and religious teachers attended from India, Persia and China to collaborate with the Tibetan Bon-pos in the editing or compilation of the 84,000 *gomos* or treatises which form their canon.

The Bon-pos or some of them at least accept the Indian dogma of the metempsychosis, but appear to restrict it to those who blinded by ignorance (*avidya*) have failed to grasp the eternal verity of the Bon-Ku (emptiness, unreality, vanity, mutability of mundane things composed of different elements and therefore perishable), and remain subject to the law of *karma* or consequences of one's own deeds, whereas, the wise freed from earthly bonds and enlightened by the splendour of the *bon-ku* (which has some analogies with the *bodhi* or knowledge) go to be absorbed into the pure essence of the *san* or spiritual immutability, composed of pure light and absolute knowledge which constitutes the subtle body of Kuntu Bzang-po. Two parallel and inseparable ways lead to this state of abstraction or of the absolute, which is the supreme aim of the Bon-pos—*viz.* *darshana* (active, will and perhaps action) and *gom*⁷ or meditation. This latter, probably an imitation of the Buddhist *dhyana*, has three stages, the *thun-gom*, *nang-gom* and *lang-gom*,⁸ not four as in Buddhism, and is the one really efficacious, though it should be accompanied or preceded by *darshana* apparently. In the *thun-gom*, which is practised by a devotee initiated by a spiritual guide, *i.e.* a *lama*, by counting the beads of a rosary and chanting the merits of *bon-ku*, the mind should not be absorbed in the particular object of meditation. But in the second degree absorption and meditation are equal, the mind is filled with light and then, entering into profound meditation (*yoga*), it is completely abstracted and finally is void even of meditation itself. The moment of *lang-gom* commences when all kinds of *vidya* (consciousness) have been acquired and the real object has been seen, when meditation has ended and the mind has ceased to think of acquiring the essence of *sunyata*. At this moment all sins, evil thoughts, & c., are changed into perfect wisdom (*inana*), all matter visible and invisible enters into the pure region of *sunyata* or *bon-ku* and then

transmigratory existences and those emancipated, good and evil, attachment and separation, etc., all become one and the same. To attain to the perfect meditation of the *lang gom* the Bon-po has nine roads, vehicles (*yana*) or methods called *hon-drang* open to him of which the first-four, the *p'va-sen*, *nang-sen*, *thul-sen* and *srid-sen* are called the 'causative vehicles'; the next four, the *gen-yen*, *akar*, *tuh-srung* and *ye'-sen* 'the resulting vehicles'; and the ninth contains the essence of the other eight. The *p'va-sen* comprises 360 questions and 84,000 proofs or tests. The *nang-sen* contains four *gyer-gom* and 42 *tah-rag* or divisions of meditative science. The *thul-sen* teaches miracle-working. The *srid-sen* deals with the 360 forms of death and with funeral rites, of the four kinds of disposing of the dead and of 81 methods of destroying evil spirits. The *gen yen* sets forth aphorisms relating to bodies, animal life, their development and maturity. The *akar* gives numerous mystical demonstrations. In the *ye'-sen* are described mental demonstrations, and in the *kyadpar*, the ninth, the five classes of *upadesa* or instruction. The *tong-srung* describes the different kinds of *bum* or monuments destined to the preservation of relics. The *khyad par* alone can achieve that which the other eight methods can only effect collectively. Moreover the four *gyer-bon* secure the enjoyment of four *bhumis* (degrees of perfection) of honourable action during several ages. The *gen-yen* and *tong-srung*, after having protected the *sattvam* (animal nature) for three *kalpas* lead it on to emancipation. The *akar* and the *ye'-sen* can procure for the *sattvam* freedom of the existence after its first birth and the *khyad-par* can ensure it even in this life. Bon temples (*bon kang*) exist besides the monasteries and though the Bon has long been in conflict with *lama*-ism it has survived in strength in Eastern Tibet and tends more and more to become fused with the doctrines of the adepts of the Nyigma-pa sect or red *lamas*.⁹

M. deMilloue, whose account of the Bon faith is based on that of Sarat Chandra Das,¹⁰ speaks of it as '*assez obscur*', but it is strange that no one has hitherto compared or contrasted its teachings with those of Jainism. A.H. Francke's notices of the Bon-chos, fragmentary as they are, show that he was dealing with its earlier phases as the following notes show—

Human sacrifice was probably a leading feature of this primitive creed. oaths at important treaties were made binding by human as well

as animal sacrifices, new houses were consecrated by immuring human beings in their walls, and a person was killed when one was first inhabited.¹¹ Dr. Francke mentions a *lama* in the Sutlej valley who had recently beheaded his father while asleep in order to render his new house habitable.¹² The old were apparently put to death, a custom toned down in modern times to a rule which relegates a father to a small house when his son marries and a grandfather to a still smaller one.

The ibex was worshipped for fertility and figures of its often carved on rocks. Nowadays 'flour ibex' are offered by neighbours to the parents of a new born child.¹³ Kesar'a Bruguma and other pre-Buddhistic divinities are still invoked to grant children¹⁴, but it does not follow that this was their real or principal function in the Bonchos. The *swastika* was already a symbol of the sun and the *yoni* of the female principle.¹⁵ The dead were buried, burnt, exposed to the air or cast into the waters as might seem appropriate. Thus people who had died to dropsy were cast into a stream.¹⁶ Even so in recent times the people of Kanaur¹⁷ used to practise immersion of the dead in water (*dubant*), eating (*bhakhant*) and cremation as well as burial. Corpses were also cut into pieces and packed into clay pots.¹⁸

Spirits also played a great role for good or ill. That of the Miru monastery was carried off even in Buddhist times to Hemis in a bundle of twigs.¹⁹ When the country suffered from violent gales the spirits of the wind were caught in a pot, and stored up in a *stupa* which had already been built over the home of an evil spirit.²⁰

SECTION 2—BUDDHISM

The study of Buddhism is of more practical importance for the Punjab than its present restriction to a few semi-Tibetan cantons of the Himalayas would indicate. The ideas underlying Sikhism find some prototypes in Buddhism and Macauliff did not hesitate to speak of the 'Gautamist predecessors' of the Sikh *gurus* although no proof exists that Sikh teaching was directly derived from Buddhistic teachings or traditions. Buddhism, however, did not disappear from Northern India until the Muhammedan invasions and it is difficult to think that its traditions are rapidly forgotten. The interval between its final disappearance about the 10th or 11th century and the birth of Nanak in 1469 was not great as time goes when religious traditions are in

question. In the Himalayas Naga-worship maintained its footing and obscure though its connection with latter-day Buddhism may be the Nag cults certainly preserve a phase of Buddhism.

Writing in 1882 Ibbetson expressed a very unfavourable opinion of Tibetan Buddhism as the following paragraphs show—

Rise of Buddhism. It is not my intention to attempt any description of tenets of the Buddhist faith. They can be studied in the books mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, Gautama Buddha was brought up in the strictest sect of the Hindus, he scrupulously followed their hardest precepts, he endured long-continued mortification and penance without finding peace of mind; and in the end his soul revolted against the sore burdens with which the Brahmans would oppress him and the artificial paths by which they would lead him. He proclaimed that their gods were false; that the Almighty was everywhere and everything; that each man must endure the consequences of his own acts, of which prayer and sacrifice were unavailing to relieve him; that all evil sprang from the lusts and longings of the flesh and of the fleshly mind; that peace consisted in final release from the bonds of incarnation and in absorption into the absolute, and that it was to be obtained only by the extinction of desire. "Buddhism is no religion at all, and certainly no theology; but rather a system of duty, morality, benevolence, without real deity, prayer, or priest." But unlike Hinduism, it gave its followers a man to revere and imitate whose personal character was holy and beautiful; and for the first time in the religious experience of India it called upon its hearers to change their lives with their faith, and introduced them to the new ideas of proselytism and conversion. The new doctrine was the *ne plus ultra* of quietism; and though new infinitely corrupted and defiled, at any rate in the northern school, by the admixture of other and less pure cults, it still retains many of its original characteristics. Above all things it recognises no hereditary priesthood and teaching that all men are equal, admits no distinctions of caste, atleast in the countries in which it is now professed; though how far this could now ...had it remained the religion of India is perhaps a doubtful question.²¹ The story of how it gradually spread over Northern India, apparently obscuring for a time the Brahminism against which it was a protest,

how it attained perhaps its highest pitch under Asoka, how it gradually spread into Tibet, China, Burma, and Ceylon, how it was followed in its victorious advance beyond the confines of Indian peninsula by the resurgent Brahminism, which finally succeeded in expelling it from the country of its birth, or perhaps more really in so absorbing it that it can no longer be traced save in its effect on some of the esoteric doctrines of the Hindu faith, and how it now flourishes as a separate religion only in the foreign realms which it has conquered, is matter of history in its broad outlines and of the uncertainty of ignorance as to its minor details. Buddha preached about 600-540 B.C.²² Asoka lived about three centuries after him, and Buddhism first became the state religion²³ of China in the 4th century of our era, while it disappeared from India some 4 to 5 centuries later. The first Buddhist king of Tibet is said to have reigned in the beginning of the 7th century, but Ladakh, the part of Tibet which borders on the Punjab, would seem to have been converted by missionaries sent by Asoka.

Buddhism as it is in the Punjab.—The Buddhist doctrines were early divided into two great schools, the northern which prevails in Tibet, China, and Japan and the southern to which belong, Ceylon, Burma and Siam.²⁴ The latter retains the teachings of its founder almost unchanged; but the former soon substituted the final beatitude of the Hindus for the ultimate absorption of Buddha, and developed an elaborate and extravagant system of incarnate saints and demi-gods of different degrees which has obscured and almost superseded the original Gautamic legend. The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Pangi in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjab whose inhabitants return themselves as Buddhists, is the Lamaism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We shall see how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hinduism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the *Tantras* and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion.

In the northern school Buddha is still revered, but only as one of many, and not so much as some; while the objects of worship recognised by the most esoteric doctrine include gods and demi-gods, though they stand lower in order of honour than the beatified saints. But Lamaic Buddhism has gone further than this:—"As in India the Brahmans have declared all the ancient village Thakurs and Devis to be only so many different forms of Mahadeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lamas* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poor people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names:—Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,²⁵ while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Budaha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyani Buddhas, in which the *yoni* or female symbol plays a prominent part."—(General Cunningham).

The wrath of Kali is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,²⁶ trumpets made of human thigh-bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the Lamas as their only protection against them. The Lamas are therefore constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."—(Wilson's *Religions of the Hindus.*)

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.²⁷ It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned in the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village which is turned by water and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulae—"These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest, or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter; each goes to a Lama and purchases a slate, which he deposits carefully on the village *mani* and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard."

These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often "exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In some of the monasteries the abbots are, like the Hindu Sannyasis, buried in a sitting posture and in full canonicals within the building. The people eat the flesh of dead animals, but will not kill for food.

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars; and the remarks of Mr. A. Anderson quoted below seem to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills,

as I shall show in my chapter on Caste; and I suspect that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kangra and Lahul as there is between Lahul and Spiti. Mr. A. Anderson wrote thus:—"In Spiti there are three classes: Chahzang, Lohar or Zoho, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Chahzang will eat from a Lohar's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Chahzang will marry a Chahzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*ras* or *haddi*). This is the rule also with Lohars and Hensis. Should a Chahzang take a Lohar woman into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Chahzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohar. It is said that it is not common for a Chahzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.²⁸ It is common among Bots or Tibetans generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Lahul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindus also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

As we have already seen Buddhism found established in Tibet a strongly organised religion in the Bon-chos, which as we now know it has been systematised and purified by contact with Buddhism itself. It must have been a crude animism in its primitive form. The Tibetans assign a very ancient date to the importation of Buddhism into Tibet, but the Chinese annals place it under the reign of the emperor Tai Tsung, 627-650 A.D., though possibly a Buddhist monastery had been erected on the sacred Kailasa mountain in 137 B.C. If any such monastery was founded, however, it must have been shortlived. Lamaistic tradition indeed declares that about the middle of the 5th century B.C. when Tibet was plunged in profound barbarism, an Indian prince named Nyahthi-Tsanpo,²⁹ a descendant of Sakyamuni himself according to some but according to others an exiled son of Prasenajit king of Kosala, made himself recognised as king of Tibet introduced Buddhism and civilization and founded the royal Tibetan family.

But his efforts failed and as soon as he was dead Buddhism disappeared completely. Nevertheless the Tibetans date the Ngadar or period of primitive Buddhism from his reign.

Under his 37th descendant or successor Lha Thothori Nyantsan³⁰ in 331 A.D. four objects of unknown use fall on the roof of the royal palace and the king was warned to preserve them piously as pledges of the future prosperity of Tibet whose meaning would be revealed in due course to one of his successors. This and the tradition of a monastery in Kailasa doubtless mean that Buddhism gained a footing in Tibet long before it became the state religion.

However, this may be, in the reign of Srongtsan-Gampo—617 to 698—the first authentic ruler of Tibet, Buddhism met with a royal patron. The king had married two princesses, one Chinese, the other a daughter of Ansuvarman of Nepal. The latter at any rate was a devout Buddhist and the king was induced to send his chief minister Thumi or Thonmi Sambhota to search for Buddhist books and preachers in India. He returned in 650 A.D. with a certain number of books and an alphabet adapted to the translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. About 841 the king had built at Lhasa the famous temple of Rasa called later Lhasei-tso-khang or Jovo-khang to receive the sacred images of Akchobhya and Sakyamuni brought from Nepal and China by his queens who are also said to have built the monasteries of Labrang and Ramoche. But the earliest monastery in Tibet would appear to have been that of Samye built a full century later.

It is clear that if Buddhism was not officially introduced or recognised in Tibet until the middle of the 7th century A.D. the form then adopted as the state religion can hardly have been the pure uncontaminated creed preached by Buddha and his immediate successors. This supposition is borne out by what followed? Srongtsan Gampo was a warlike ruler, yet he was deified as an incarnation of the Dhiani Bodhisattva Chanresi³¹ or Avalokitesvara, a personification of charity and the love of one's neighbour and the patron deity of Tibet, while his queens also received divine honours as incarnations of the goddess Dolma or Tara, the Nepalese lady under the name of the Green Tara³² and the Chinese as the White Tara.³³ Proof of their divine nature was discerned in their barrenness.

Under Srongtsan Gampo's four successors Buddhism, at grips with the Bon-pos, made no progress and may have been completely driven out of Tibet, and it was not until the reign of Thisrong Detsan 728-736—that it became definitely the state religion, in spite of the opposition of the prime minister and the queen, herself a devout Bonpo Thisrong Detsan in 744 sent a monk into India to retain Santa Rakshita, superior of the *vihara* at Nalanda near Boddh-Gaya, whose services were secured in 747. Raised to the dignity of high priest of Tibet Santa Rakshita had no easy task. The gods, genii and demons of the country raised up storms, inundations and sicknesses of all kinds against him and he was compelled to ask for the assistance of his brother-in-law the Acharya Padma Sambhava, who was accordingly brought from India by the king's orders. Padma Sambhava was a native of Udyana,³⁴ a *pratege* of Indrabodhi, the blind king of that realm, and skilled in magic. All along the road into Tibet he engaged in combats and overcame by the power of his magic charms the numerous demons who had sought to stay him and as soon as he arrived at the king's palace he hastened to convene on the hill Magro the full array of the gods, genii and local demons whom he compelled to take oath that they would henceforth defend Buddhism, promising them in return a share in the cult and in the offerings of the faithful.

By this judicious compromise Buddhism became the dominant creed of Tibet, but its subjects retained their own religion as a submissive faith—a phenomenon often noticed under such circumstances. Padma Sambhava thus secured against opposition initiated a few chosen disciples into the mystic doctrine and magic practices of the *Tantras* of the Yogachara school, while Santa Rakshita taught the discipline and philosophy of the Madhyamika school. In 749 Padma Sambhava founded the Samye monastery some 30 miles from Lhasa on the model of the one at Udantapura with 20 Indian monks and 7 Tibetan initiates. Padma Sambhava did not stay long in Tibet. He is said to have returned miraculously to India and to have left concealed in rocks many treatises on esoteric and magic learning to be discovered by sinless saints when human intelligence should have developed sufficiently to understand them—a belief fruitful in sectarianism. Nevertheless the Bonchos was not extinct, for the progress in Tibet of the mystic Mahayana also met with great obstacles

in the existence of other Buddhist sects professing various doctrines. To combat a Chinese monk named Mahayana, who preached a doctrine of quietism and inaction, Thisrong Detsan called in a disciple of Santa Rakshita named Kamala Sila from Magadha who defeated the schismatic in debate. Under that king's son and especially under his grandson Ralpachan, who brought the Acharya Jina Mitra and many other *pandi's* from India, Buddhism made progress and by 899 in which year Ralpachan was assassinated by his brother Langdarma the translation of the 108 tomes of the *Kan-iur* and of most of the 250 of the *Tan-jur* had been completed. Langdarma, however, placed an interdiction on Buddhism and tried to eradicate its doctrines from his kingdom until he was assassinated by the *lama* Paldorje in 902.

Thus ended the era of the Nga-dar or primitive Buddhism and began that which Tibetans call the Ch'yi-dar or 'later Buddhism,' styled by Europeans Lamaism.

LAMAISM

By Lamaism, says de Milloue, must not be understood merely the religion of Tibet. In reality, like Hinduism, it embraces both its social and religious systems crowned by the absolute theocracy which has governed it for upwards of three centuries. While Lamaism professes to follow the doctrine of the Mahayana or idealistic school of Northern Buddhism it has exaggerated it to such an extent and introduced into it so many modifications in its fundamentals, so many local beliefs and practices that it has hardly more of Buddhism than the name. Hence, like Hinduism, it can only be studied in its sects and orders. These will be described in their historical order.

The Kadampa order owes its origin to Atisa who was born in Bengal in 980 A.D. Educated as a Brahman he was converted to Buddhism and initiated into the Mahayana doctrine at Krisnagiri. At the age of 19 he took the vows at Udantapuri under the famous Sila Rakshita with the religious name of Dipankara-Sri-Juana and was ordained at 31. Nominated superior of the Vikrama-Sila monastery by the king of Magadha and recognised as hierarch by the Mahayanists of that kingdom, he was invited by Lha-lama in 1038 to undertake reforms in Tibet, but only yielded to the instances of Lha-tsun-pa when he had reached the age of 60. Arriving in Tibet in 1040 he was given

as residence the monastery of Tho-ling and devoted his energies to purifying Tibetan Buddhism of the gross and immoral practices imported into it by the Bon-po shamanism allied with mysticism of Tantric teaching. Before he died in 1053 at Ngethang he had gathered round him a number of disciples who formed a sect called Kadampa³⁵ under Marpa and Dromton or Bromton³⁶ in the monastery at Raseug or Radeng. This sect or order has counted 3000 eminent *lamas* in its ranks since its foundation and some writers regard it as a restoration of the ancient teaching of Thumi Sambhota. It affected especially the *Vinaya* with its views of chastity, imposed respect for and worship of the Buddhas and of Sakyamuni in particular, charity and love for all creatures, and practised fervent meditation. It professed the exoteric doctrine of the Void (*sunyata*) and without entirely rejecting mysticism and the *Tantra* adheres strictly to the teachings of the *Kanjur* in regard to them. This sect has lost much of its importance since the reforms of Tsong-khapa and has to a great extent merged in the Geluk-pa order or sect.

The Nyigmapa order, incorrectly called Ningmapa in Vol. III, page 171 *infra*, owes its origin to dissent from Atisa's reforms. The great majority of the *lamas* continued then attachment to the lax doctrines of Padma Sambhava and his successors, called themselves *Rnyig-ma-pa* or 'ancients,' of the old school. Their doctrines were based entirely on the *Tantras* and the treatises and commentaries of Padma Sambhava and his school, and are saturated with the shamanism of the Bon-chos. As Padma Sambhava had professed to draw upon books written and hidden by Nagarjuna which he had discovered by a miraculous revelation from that saint, so the principal Nyigmapa apostles attributed their lucubrations to Padma Sambhava, pretending to discover the writings hidden by him as already described. These books, styled *Ter-ma*, contain many extravagances and obscenities, some recommending unbridled license as the surest way of attaining salvation.

The Nyigmapa neglect as a rule all the restraints of Buddhist discipline, especially in regard to celibacy, abstinence from flesh and liquor. Many are married and almost all given to drunkenness. Their supreme divinity is the mystic Buddha, Kuntu Zangpo, the Sanskrit Samantabhadra but in preference to the Buddhas generally adored by

other sects they affect tutelary demons called Si-Yidam-kyi-lha, 'benevolent protectors' and P'ro Yidam-kyi-lha, 'terrible protectors,' represented in the Tantric way as each holding their *yum*³⁷ or *sakti* in a close embrace. The former belong to the class of Buddhas, the latter to that of the Shiva istic deities. The Si-Yidam of the sect is called Vajra-p'urba and the P'ro-Yidam Duppa-Kagye.' They have also a guardian demon called Gurgon, a monster with two heads, and they worship Padma Sambhava under various forms, human, divine and demoniac. The cult, which is essentially one of propitiation, which they offer to these divinities, consists in magic rites of all kinds, and in these flesh, fermented liquors and blood offered in human skulls form the principal ingredients. Their numerous sub-sects, separated by insignificant shades of choice between a special *Tantra* or *Terma* and another or of a special tutelary deity are scattered all over Tibet as are their monasteries, some of which are renowned. Among them are those at Samye, the metropolis of the order, Moru, Ramoche and Karmakhya, the last three having colleges for the study of astrology, exorcism, magic and divination.

All the Nyigmapas, however did not approve of the licentious and dangerous doctrines of the Tertons as the discoverers or inventors of hidden treatises were called and a certain number of them protesting against their pretended revelations constituted under the name of the Sarma school an independent group which while preserving the mystic and Tantric tradition which had become imbedded in religious morals, imposed on itself a strict physical and moral discipline, the rigorous observance of monastic rules as to celibacy, abstinence, obedience and the renunciation of the world, the practice of universal charity and the exercise of meditation. To this group belong the Karmapa, Bhrikhungpa³⁸ and Dugpa³⁹ sub-orders. It possesses the important monasteries of Mindoling,⁴⁰ Dorjedak,⁴¹ Karthok,⁴² Khamtathag and Sich 'en-tsoch' en, each the seat of an independent sub-sect.

The Kargyut-pa and Sakya-pa sects or orders.—If the revolt of conscience which resulted in the formation of the Sarma school was, as is believed, anterior to the reforms of Atisa and Bromton and in consequence independent of them, their preachings and efforts did not fail to exercise a certain influence on the Nyigmapas and contributed to form new or half-reformed groups which have played an important

part in the religious history of Tibet. Of these the most important are the Kargyut-pa⁴³ and Sakya pa.⁴⁴

Among Bromton's disciples was a monk named Marpa who remained attached to the Nyigmapa doctrines in spite of all because their toleration appeared to him particularly suited to the Tibetan temperament. He undertook to correct them by mingling the excessive fondness of the Nyigmapas for mystical and magical practices with the excessive severity of the Kadampas and towards the end of the 11th century he founded an order which he called the Kargyutpa or 'those who follow several teachings.' In this he was powerfully aided by his principal disciple and successor, Milarapa. This order or sect professes to follow a doctrine revealed by the supreme Buddha Dorje'chang or, in Sanskrit, Vajradhara, to the Indian sage Telopa and transmitted to Marpa by the Pandit Naro of the Nalanda monastery. His doctrine, called the *mannyag* or Naro'chorug, imparts constant meditation on the nature of the Buddhas and the means of acquiring it, charity, adoration of the Adi-Buddha, the absolute renunciation of the world, life in solitude and by preference in a hermitage in order to restrain action and desire, the rigorous observance of the rules of the *Vinaya* the study of Tantric metaphysic and of the philosophy of the Madhyamika School, and the practice of *yoga*. It addresses its worship especially to the tutelary Yi-dam Dem-chog and to his Shakti Dorje-p'agmo, the Sanskrit Vajra-varahi, the goddess with three heads, one of which is that of a wild sow and it venerates as its principal saints and patrons Telopa, Naro, Marpa and Milarapa. Once it boasted many followers and its monks had a great name for learning and holiness, but it has nowadays fallen into decay.

The Sakyapa sect or rather order will be found described in Vol. III, pp. 346-7.

The Nyigmapa *lamas* and the orders which have sprung from it are generally designated 'red *lamas*' or more precisely 'red caps'—*sa-mar* owing to the colour of their costume.⁴⁵ But the Kadampa *lamas* wear the *sa-ser* or yellow bonnet of the orthodox Gelukpa sect.

The Gelukpa order.—At the very moment when the Sakyapa sect was about to attain the zenith of its power in 1355 a miraculous child, an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Manjusri, or perhaps even of the

Dhiani-Buddha Amitabha, was born in Eastern Tibet. His intelligence and religious vocation were so precociously developed that the *lama* Rolpa'idorje of the Karmapa sect initiated him at the age of 3, and at the age of 8 he was first ordained by *lama* named Tonduo-Rinchen and assumed as his new name the style of Lozang-tagpa or Sumatikirti. Tradition avers that he received instruction from a western monk, possibly a Christian and if so probably a Nestorian. However, this may be, Tsongkha-pa—as he is generally called from the place of his birth—soon acquired such a name for piety and learning that he attracted numerous disciples in spite of the severity of his discipline, especially in what concerned the vows of chastity? He recalled his disciples to the inflexible rules of the 253 canons of the *Vinaya*, to the liturgy and ritual traditions of the primitive Mahayana. He imposed upon them the yellow garb of the Hindu mendicant to recall by its shape the clothing of the Indian *bhikshus* and distinguish them from the red-clad *lamas* and gave them the name of Gelukpa⁴⁶ or 'observers of virtue.' In 1409 he founded the monastery of Galdan,⁴⁷ the centre of the sect, and after some years those of Sera and Depung. At Galdan he died in 1417 or 1419, leaving the pontificate of the sect to his nephew and chief disciple, Gedun Grub. His soul ascended to the heaven Tushita, residence of the Bodhisattvas, where he reigns with Nagarjuna at the side of the future Buddha Maitreya, an ascension commemorated by the feast of lamps from October 20th to 25th. He is also the object of a cult as Jampal Nying-pa and his relics are worshipped at Galdan. To him is attributed the authorship of numerous treatises, the canons of the Gelug-pa order, the four principal being the *Bodhimur*, the *Tarnimmur*, the *Altanarke* and the *Lamrim*. In spite of his great renown he never held in his lifetime any higher official title than that of abbot of Galdan which his successor also bore until his elevation in 1439 to the rank of Grand Lama. The latter's pontificate was remarkable for the foundation of the monastery of Tashilhum po in 1445 and the enunciation of the dogma of the incarnation of the Grand Lamas of the Gelug-pa order by which his successor Gedun-Grub-Gyetso was the first beneficiary. It appears, however, that the only incarnation believed in at that epoch was that of the spirit of the first Grand Lama, not that of a god, and that the only purpose of this tenet, from which the sect has drawn such advantages, was to create for these eminent personages a kind of

spiritual heirship in imitation of (or improvement on) the rule of natural heredity observed by the rival sect of the Sakyapa. Nevertheless the office of abbot at Galdan is elective. Apart from the adoption of the title of Gyetso,⁴⁸ which means 'Ocean of Majesty' and is equivalent to the Mongolian Tale, Europeanised as Dalai, and the transfer of the head see to Depung, the sect had no history except one of rapid and continued progress during the pontificates of Gedun-Grub Gyetso (born in 1475, died in 1548), Sodnam-Gyetso (1543-89) and Yontan-Gyetso (1589-1617). Je-Ngavang-Lozang-Thubtan-Jigsmed-Gyetso (1617-82), however was able to raise the Kochot Mongols against the king of Tibet and make the victors do homage to himself. He thus united the spiritual and temporal authority under the protection of China in the hands of the Dalai Lamas who succeeded him. He is also said to have devised the doctrine of the perpetual re-incarnation of the Dhiani-Boddhisattva Chanresi (the Sanskrit Avalokiteswara) in the Dalai Lamas which was extended retrospectively to his four predecessors. He also created the dignity of Panchen-Rinpote, an incarnation of the Buddha Odpagmed (Sanskrit Amitabha, the spiritual father of Avalokiteswara) for his old preceptor the abbot of Galdan whom he also appointed to be the independent pontiff of Tashilhumpo. The Gelugpa have preserved a well-merited reputation for learning. They admit the validity of the magic and sorcery inculcated in the *Gyut*, the 7th section of the *Kan-jur*, but in all other respects follow scrupulously the canon of the primitive Mahayana as the Kadampa sect had received it from Atisa. But contrary to its doctrine they admit the existence of the soul though it is not conceived of by them in the same way as it is in Europe. They regard it as immortal or rather as endowed with an indefinite existence and perhaps even as eternal in its essence. In its inception this soul is a light imprisoned in a material body endowed with an individuality which subsists, though to a limited extent, in its transmigrations and permits it to undergo the good or evil effects of its *karma*. Eventually the corporal envelope wears thin and finally disappears when the man becomes Buddha and enters Nirvana. Nirvana is neither annihilation nor its opposite. It can be attained by three roads, that of the inferior, intermediate and superior beings. For the first named Nirvana is a repose of nothingness. For the superior it is to reach the perfect state of Buddha. In it the individuality of a being melts into a kind of confluence: like Sakyamuni

himself it is confounded with the other Buddhas. Nevertheless its personality is not totally destroyed, for if it cannot re-appear in the world under a form perceptible by the senses it can manifest itself spiritually, to those who have faith. It is in themselves then that they see it.

The Gelugpas worship all the deities of the Tibetan pantheons, but they especially affect the supreme Buddha Dorjechang, the future Buddha Maitreya who inspires their teaching, the Yidams Dorjéjigje,⁴⁹ Demchog⁵⁰ and Sangdus⁵¹ and the *gon-po* or demoniac genie Tamdin.⁵² The ceremonies consecrated to the three latter have a magical character and are accompanied by Tantric rites.

No theology of Lamaism, as a whole, can be said to exist. Each sect has its own pantheon and that of the Gelugpas is typical of all the others. This sect divides the celestial world into nine groups, the Buddhas, Yidam or tutelary deities, the Lhag-lha or those above the gods, the Bodhisattvas, the Arhats or saints, the Dakkinis, the Dharmapalas or "protectors of the law" the Yul lha or Devas, who are terrestrial deities and the Sa-bdag, local deities or those of the soil. The clue to this multiplication of divine being must be sought in the Lamaistic conception of the Buddhas. Incapable of reincarnation, plunged in the beatitude of the Nirvana, they can no longer intervene in the affairs of men. At most they have power to inspire and sustain the saints who are devoted to the salvation of human beings. In a sense the Buddhas are dead gods, while the living, active gods are the Bodhisattvas.

I.—The Buddhas form the class of higher beings perfect in excellence, presided over by Dorjechang (Vajradhara), the Adi-Buddha of Indian Buddhism, who is the external, all powerful, omniscient Buddha, an abstract being imitated from the Brahma or universal soul of the Brahmans, though he does not apparently fulfil all his functions. He is often confounded with Dorjesempa (Vajrasattva) though it may be that the two conceptions are distinct, the former being exclusively meditative, the latter active. They are depicted as seated with the legs crossed in the attitude of imperturbable meditation, adorned with rich jewels and crowned with a five-gemmed crown. But while Dorjechang makes the gesture of perfection, with the index-fingers and thumbs of both hands joined and raised to the level of the chest, Dorjesempa has

his hands crossed on his breast and holds the thunderbolt (*dorje* or *vajra*) and the sacred bell. Several sects, including the orthodox sect of the Geluggas, do not however, acknowledge their supremacy but regard them merely as celestial Boddhisattvas, emanations of Akchobhya, and attribute the supreme rank to Vairochana.

The class of the Buddhas is divided into 5 groups: (i) the Jinas or Dhiani-Buddhas, (ii) the seven Buddhas of the past, (iii) the 35 Buddhas of confession, (iv) the Tathagata physicians, and (v) the 1000 Buddhas. (i) The Jinas are five abstract personages who represent the virtues, intelligences and powers of Dorjechang, from whom they emanate. They are protectors of the 5 cardinal points, the zenith, east, south etc., and personifications, of the 5 elements, the ether, air, fire etc., and probably also of the 5 senses. But they are neither creators nor do they interfere in material phenomena or in the affairs of the world. They preside over the protection and expansion of the Buddhist faith and each by an emanation of his essence procreates a spiritual son, a Dhiani-Boddhisattva, who is charged with the active supervision of the universe, while at the same time they inspire and sustain the saints who aspire to attain Buddhahood. Hence we have five Triads each composed of a Dhiani-Buddha, of a Dhiani-Boddhisattva and of a Manushi-Buddha or human Buddha. These five Dhianis are named Vairochans,⁵³ Akchobhya,⁵⁴ Ratna-Sambhava,⁵⁵ Amitabha⁵⁶ and Amoghasiddhi.⁵⁷ By a phenomenon as interesting as it is unusual they assume three different forms, natural, mystic and tantric according to the parts which they are made to play. In their natural form they resemble all other Buddhas and can only be recognised by their gestures⁵⁸ and by the attributes sometimes assigned to them. Thus Vairochana is in the attitude of 'turning the wheel of the Law',⁵⁹ Akchobhya in that of 'taking to witness',⁶⁰ Ratna-Sambhava in that of charity,⁶¹ Amitabha in that of meditation⁶² and Amoghasiddhi of intrepidity.⁶³ In their mystic forms they are assigned a crown with 5 gems, and adorned with necklaces, girdles and precious bracelets, which makes them resemble Boddhisattvas of the usual type. Under these aspects Akchobhya changes his name to Chakdor⁶⁴ and Amitabha to Amitayus.⁶⁵ And the latter becomes 'infinite life' instead of 'infinite light.' Finally in their tantric forms they are each united to a goddess and often given a number of arms, each charged with a weapon or magic attribute.

(ii) The Seven Buddhas of the Past, also called Tathagatas, comprise Sakyamuni and the six human Buddhas who preceded him on earth. They also are to be distinguished by their attitudes. They are Vipasyin,⁶⁶ who combines the attitudes of testimony and imperturbability, Sikhin⁶⁷ (charity and imperturbability), Visvabhu⁶⁸ (meditation), Krakuchanda⁶⁹ (protection and imperturbability), Kanakimuni⁷⁰ (preaching and imperturbability), Kasyapa (charity and resolution) and Sakyamuni preaching and imperturbability). Like the Dhianis the seven Buddhas can on occasion assume mystic and above all tantric forms when they fulfil the functions of a tutelary god of a monastery, tribe or family.

(iii) The 35 Buddhas of Confession are divine personages addressed to obtain the remission of sins or atleast mitigation of punishments. They include the 5 Dhianis, the 7 Buddhas of the Past, the 5 physicians and 19 other Buddhas who appear to personify abstractions. They are frequently invoked and fervently worshipped on account of their functions as redeemers.

(iv) The Tathagata physicians form a group of 8 Buddhas including Sakyamuni as president. The principal, Be-du-ryai Od-kvi-rgyal-po, holds a cup of ambrosia and a fruit or medicinal plant and his colour is indigo blue. But the others are only distinguished by their attitudes and complexions, three being red, one yellow, one pale yellow and another reddish yellow. They are addressed for the cure of physical as well as spiritual maladies.

(v) The last group consists simply of Buddhas and includes 1,000 imaginary Buddhas believed to be living or to have lived in the '3000 great thousands' of world's which constitute the universe. Among them the most venerated are the Pratyeka Buddhas generally cited anonymously in the Buddhist scripture.

II—In the Yidams we find the most fantastic conceptions of the Buddhist theology, resulting from the introduction into it of Hindu Tantrism. Absolute perfection to the Indian mind consists in the absence of all passion, of all desire and movement, in a word in absolute inaction. Hence a god acting as creator or preserver is no longer a god since such acts presuppose passion, or the desire to act, and the movement to accomplish the object of that desire. To reconcile

this conception of divine perfection with the deeds ascribed to the gods by myth and legend, mystic. Brahmanism hit on the idea of a doubling of the god, considered primitively as androgynous, in an inert, purely meditative personality, which to the god properly so called, and an acting personality which is his active energy. To the former they gave the masculine, to the latter the feminine form. The latter is the goddess or Shakti a companion of every god. De Milloué says that these conceptions were introduced into Buddhism towards the 5th century of our era, and applied not only to the gods, active servitors of the Buddhas, but also to the Buddhas themselves so that they came to be regarded not indeed as creators but as the efficient causes of creation. The Buddha, source and essence of all, is thus a generator and as such regarded as bound to interest himself in the creatures begotten by him and above all to protect them against the demons, the great and abiding terror of the Tibetans. In all representations the Yidam is characterised by the Yum which he holds in his embrace, and this characteristic leads to the most incongruous unions. The Yidams of the highest rank are the tantric manifestations of the Dhianis, of some other Buddhas and Boddhisattvas. But apart from the addition of the Yum they all preserve their traditional figures, a few Yidam-Boddhisattvas excepted who assume for the nouse terrifying expressions—calculated, we may presume, to complete the rout of the demons which they have to combat. Only the most active Boddhisattvas are depicted standing. The Boddhisattva Yidam Chakdor, a tantric manifestation of Vajrapani, may be considered the most characteristic type of this series. He is represented as making frightful grimaces, the eyes flashing anger, with a wide mouth armed with fangs, flames instead of hair and a human skull in his left hand, while the right brandishes a thunderbolt, and trampling under foot the corpses of his conquered enemies. He is the implacable destroyer of demons. Al though he is a form of Indra or Vishnu the legend which explains why he shows such special hatred for the demons is in part borrowed from the myth of Shiva. When the gods had drunk the *amrit* produced by the churning of the ocean they entrusted to Vajrapani's care the vase containing the rest of the precious liquid of immortality, but profiting by a moment of carelessness the demon Rahu drank it all and replaced it by an unnamable fluid whose exhalations would certainly have poisoned the world. To avert this

danger and punish Vajrapani for his negligence the gods condemned him to drink the frightful liquid and by the effect of the poison his golden tint turned to black, a misfortune which he never forgave the demons.

The superior Yidams are not numerous, the great majority being formed of Hindu gods, principally forms of Shiva, transformed into secondary Buddhist divinities. It is generally they who are the patrons of sects, monasteries and families, and in this last capacity they also protect herds and crops. They too have frightful visages and are depicted with many arms, animals' heads, and all kinds of weapons, including the thunderbolt and the sacred bell which scares demons. They also carry a human skull in which they drink their enemies' blood and which serves as a vessel in their temples for offerings libations of the blood of victims and fermented liquors. The Yums of these Yidams are generally agreeable to look at, but sometimes have demon features or several heads and generally many arms with hands laden with weapons and the inevitable skull.

III.—The term *Bodhisattva*⁷¹ in orthodox Buddhism means a perfect being who has acquired in previous existences prodigious merits which he renounces in order to devote them in love and compassion to the salvation of other beings, who makes a vow in order to attain *bodhi* and is designed to become a Buddha in a future worldly existence. It is in fact the title which Sakyamuni bears in the Tushita heaven and on earth until he becomes Buddha. With it he consecrates Maitreya his successor, before incarnating himself for the last time. It seems then that at that time there was only one *Bodhisattva* in Heaven as there was only one Buddha on earth, but the Mahayana by multiplying the number of the Buddhas also multiplied that of the *Bodhisattvas* infinitely, applying that venerable title to abstract personifications of intelligences, virtues, forces, phenomena and ideas, and at the same time to saints destined to become Buddhas. Hence this group includes personages of very different nature and origin.

First come the Dhiani-*Bodhisattvas*, emanations of the 5 Dhiani-Buddhas personifying their active energies and named Samantabhadra,⁷² Vajrapani,⁷³ Ratnapani,⁷⁴ Avalokiteswara or Padmapani⁷⁵ and Viswapani.⁷⁶ Three of these are merely-nominal divinities, although much prayed to. Only the second and fourth fulfil

very important roles both in religious legend and in popular tradition. Vajrapani enjoys more propitiation than genuine adoration, if we understand by that a feeling of gratitude and love, probably because of his demon-like appearance in his Tantric form. On the other hand Padmapani, 'the lotus-handed' or 'he who holds the lotus in his hands,' is above all the beloved being, venerated, adored, besought in all circumstances in preference to the greatest Buddhas themselves, including even his spiritual father Amitabha.

Many reasons explain the special devotion which Avalokiteswara enjoys. He presided at the formation of the actual universe, and is charged to protect it against the enterprises of the demons and to develop in it the beneficent action of the Good Law. Then he personifies charity, compassion, love of one's neighbour: more than any other he is helpful, and in his infinite kindness has manifested and still manifests himself in the world in incarnations, whenever there is a danger to avert, a misdeed of the demons to repair, or a wretch to save. Lastly he presides, seated at Amitabha's right hand, over the paradise of Sukhavati whose portals he opens to all who invoke him with devotion, love and faith. He might almost be called the redeemer, if the idea of redemption were not irreconcilable with the Buddhist dogma of personal responsibility and the fatal consequences of one's own acts. As protector and saviour as well as in remembrance of his repeated incarnations. Avalokiteswara assumes, according to the part attributed to him, very different forms corresponding to his 33 principal incarnations. Generally he is represented seated (or standing to signify action) as is given a feminine aspect. At other times he has several heads and arms. His most celebrated image has 11 heads, arranged in a pyramid, and 22 arms. In this form he is the recognised patron of Tibet. In his mystic and Tantric cult he has as Shakti the goddess Dolma,⁷⁷ a benevolent form of the Shivaistic Kali, styled in India Tara the helper. Beside this special office Tara forms one of the celestial Boddhisattvas in twenty-one transformations, each the object of a fervent cult, for the Mahayana assigns a great place in its pantheon to the feminine element—in opposition to the Hinayana.

Below the Dhiani Boddhisattvas functions the numerous class of beings also called Boddhisattvas or would be Buddhas, some purely imaginary, personifications of virtues or even books, others who lived

or pass for having lived, canonized saints, some of whom may be regarded as having had a historical existence, such as the king Srong-tsan Gampo and his two wives who are regarded as incarnations of Tara under the names of the White and Green Tara⁷⁸ At the head of this class stands Manjusri,⁷⁹ occupying a place so high that he is often ranked as a Dhiani Boddhisattva, who personified the transcendent knowledge or wisdom of Buddhism. He is recognised by his flaming sword, held in his right hand, while a book supported by a lotus stalk figures on his left. He is always seated on a lotus or on a lion who rests on a lotus. Among the principal Boddhisattvas also stands Maitreya⁸⁰ the future Buddha, who is seated like a European. Then come the 21 Taras, saviours and compassionate, Shaktis of Avalokiteswara; and finally the female Boddhisattva Od-zer-chan-ma more usually called rDorje-p'ag-mo, who is perpetually incarnated in the abbess of Palti and who may be recognised by her three heads, one that of a sow. Speaking generally the Boddhisattvas are intermediaries and intercessors between men and the Buddhas.

IV.—*The lamas.*—By *lama* the Buddhists translate the Sanskrit *guru*. The *lamas* as a body include very diverse elements. They have attained *nirvana*, but not the absolute *parinirvana*, which would preclude them from reappearing on earth or interesting themselves in worldly affairs, even in the progress of religion and so on. In the first rank are the 12 *grubchen* or wizards, imitated from the Vedic *rishis*, having acquired sanctity and supernatural power by austerities, mortifications of the flesh and, above all, by magical practices. Then come the 16 *arhats* or chief disciples of the Buddha, the 18 *sthaviras*, his patriarchal successors or heads of the principal sects, the Indian or Tibetan *pandits* who introduced, spread or restored Buddhism in Tibet, the founders of the schools of philosophy, religious sects and great monasteries, and in brief all the dignitaries regarded as perpetual incarnations of Buddhas, Boddhisattvas, saints or gods who are on this account styled 'living' or 'incarnated' Buddhas. At the head of this group the Gelugpas naturally place Tsong-Kha-pa, their founder, and the Dalailamas from Gedun-grub downwards. It begins chronologically with Nagarjuna and his disciple Aryadeva, the founder and propagator of the Mahayana in India, Padma Sambhava and Santa-Rakshita who introduced it into Tibet, and Atisa its reformer. Then come Brom-ton, founder of the Kadampas, Saskya Pandita (13th century), and others.

V.—*The Dakkinis*.—The Mahayana, having borrowed most of its inferior divinities from Shivaism, especially Tantric Shivaism which makes the cult of the Shaktis predominant over that of the god himself, was compelled to give the Dakkinis precedence over the male gods. Sometimes they are represented as beautiful young women, adorned like queens, but more often with fearful visages, with animal heads crowned with flaming hair, and so on, either to indicate that they can torment and ruin those who neglect their worship, or more probably to signify their power to destroy the demons whom it is their mission to combat. Nevertheless all have a twofold character, benevolent and demoniac or maleficent. They are the Yums of the Yidams, Buddhas, etc., but also play most important personal parts. Many monasteries, even among those of the orthodox sect, are consecrated to one of them as tutelary patron, as are many Tibetan families. First in rank stands Lha-mo (Maha-Kali), ‘mother of the gods’. She is represented in 15 different forms, but especially as a woman of frightful aspect holding a club with a dead man’s head at its end, a skull for cap, and riding on a steed harnessed with human hide—said to be that of her own son killed by her for the sins of his father. Another important group is that of the six Mka’-hgro-ma, of whom the powerful Seng-gei-gdong-can has a lion’s head and dances naked on the bodies of men and animals.

VI.—The Choi-chong⁸¹ or Drag-gseds include almost all the gods of Hinduism, represented as Yidams and Dakkinis under a demoniacal aspect, although they are the recognised defenders of the Law and the universe against the demons. The most venerated are Yama,⁸² judge of the dead, the Kuvera,⁸³ god of wealth.

VII.—*The Yul-lha or terrestrial gods*.—This group includes the various deities appointed to guard the world. It comprises a good many Hindu gods, such as Brahma, Indra, Chandr, Garuda, etc., reduced to the status of inferior divinities, servitors and henchmen of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, as well as a number of gods, probably Tibetan by origin, such as Pihar or Behar, the patron of monasteries in general, Dala,⁸⁴ god of war, a kind of Hercules usually accompanied by a black dog who above all makes war on demons, and Me lha, god of fire and also of the domestic hearth.

VIII.—The Sa-bdag or local gods are of purely Tibetan origin and are charged with the protection of the land, hills, rivers, etc., etc. They are very numerous and as each locality has its special protector they cannot be named or even numbered, but one, Nang-lha, god of the house, who is represented with the head of a hog or wild boar, is worshipped throughout Tibet. But while he protects the house he is also a tyrant for if he chooses to dwell on the hearth the cooking fire must be carried elsewhere, under penalty of his wrath, and so on. He changes his abode about once every two months. The family gods are in reality ancestors for whom special ceremonies are observed at each change of season.

IX.—The Gegs or demons are a perpetual source of terror to the Tibetans who attribute to them every material ill from which the country may suffer as well as such trivial annoyances of daily life as milk boiling over. They are styled collectively *geg*s or 'enemies' and the most dreaded are the *lka-ma-yin*, corresponding to the *asuras*, the *dud-po*, phantoms, spectres and ghosts, and above all the Sin-dje, henehmen of the god of death. All the demons are the object of practices, magical ceremonies and offerings designed to propitiate them, and of exorcisms for which the *lamas* must be resorted to and out of which they make a good part of their income.

REFERENCES

1. A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 21.
2. Pronounced Pon according to Sarat Chandra Das (*Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society of India*, 1893, Appendix, cited by Milloué, *Bod-Youl ou Tibet*, Annales du Musee Gulmet, Paris, 1906, p. 153), or Peun with the French *eu*.
3. Francke, *op. cit.* pp. 2 and 65.
4. *Ib.*, p. 21.
5. *Ib.*, p. 96. For some further details see Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, pp. 52-7.
6. Mill. *op. cit.* p. 155.
7. Apparently *gydna*.
8. Or *long-gom*.
9. "There is an error prevalent regarding the dress of bamas. *viz.* that the dress of Lamas of the 'red' persuasion is red, and that of the 'yellow'

persuasion yellow. The dress of both is red, with the exception of the one special order of the Geldanpa who, to my knowledge, only exist in Zangskar. whose dress is also yellow. But Lamas of the 'red' persuasion also wear red caps and red scarves round their waist, whilst in the case of the 'yellow' Lamas *these and only* are 'yellow': K. Marx, quoted in *Hist. of Western Tibet*, pp. 23-4.

10. In J.A.S.B., 1881, p. 203f.
11. Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
12. *Ib.*, p. 22.
13. *Ib.*, pp. 96 and 105.
14. *Ib.*, p. 105.
15. *Ib.*, pp. 105 and 107.
16. *Ib.*, p. 23.
17. Pandit Tika Ram Joshi, *Ethnography of the Bashakr Sials*, J.A.S. Bengal, 1911, p. 536.
18. Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 72 and 74.
19. *Ib.*, p. 65.
20. *Ib.*, p. 81.
21. The attitude assumed towards caste by Gautama is elaborately discussed by Dr. Wilson at pp. 278 *et seq.* of the first volume of his work on Indian Caste. His teaching would seem to be not very widely removed from that of Baba Nanak, to be described presently. He recognised existing social distinctions, but held that they were the results of good or evil deeds in a previous life, and, unlike the Brahmans, taught that *all* castes should be admitted equally to the privileges of religion and were equally capable of obtaining salvation. Dr. Wilson thus sums the early Buddhist practice on the subject: "Though it is evident, both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Brahmans, that they opposed caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though disparaged by them, wherever, they found that they has been preceded by Aryan rule." (See also Barth's *Religions of India*, p. 125f)
22. Rhys Davids and Barth put this date nearly a century later.
23. Recent research shows that it survived till a much later period.
24. These two schools are commonly known as the great and the little Vehicle, perhaps because the esoteric and esoteric doctrines to which these names seem originally to have been applied have respectively become predominant in the one and the other.

25. The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a scepter surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body. D. I.
26. This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's *Ladak*: it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.
27. The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A.D.
28. So Sir J.B. Lyall wrote: "All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."
29. Ngah-K'ri-bTsap-po. The name may preserve the suffix-sthamba.
30. Lha-Tho-thori gNyan-btsan.
31. Spyan-ras-gziga. 'The Lord that looks down from on high': fr. *avalokita* (looking on) and *isvara* (lord).
32. Doljang (Sgrol-ljang).
33. Dolkar (Sgrol-dkar).
34. Milloue says Dardistan, but it also included Swat.
35. *Bkah-g* dams-pa.
36. *H* broms ton.
37. Lit. 'mother', a term applied to a goddess or any lady of quality.
38. Or Dikungpa.
39. Brug-pa: this sub-order is scattered all over the south of Tibet, especially in Bhutan and Sikkim.
40. Smin-grol-gling.
41. *Rdo-rje-brag*.
42. Garthok.
43. *Bkah-brgyud-pa*.
44. Sa-skyaja.

45. Ramany gives the following as 'Red-cap' sects:

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| (1) Rmkmapa. | (5) Skarmapa. |
| (2) Urgiupa | (6) Drigong-pa. |
| (3) Saskiapa. | (7) Stagbunpa. |
| (4) Kargiootpa. | (8) Hlondrukpa. |

Ramsay: Western Tibetan Dicty., p. 18, cf. pp. 79-85.

46. *Dge-lags-pa*. The sect is also called *Galdan-pa*.

47. *Dgah-ldan*.

48. *Rgya-mts'o*.

49. Sanskrit *Vajrabhairava*.

50. Sanskrit *Samvara*.

51. Sanskrit *Guhya Kala*: P *Grihya Kala*.

52. Sanskrit *Hayagriva*.

53. *Rusm-par-snang-mzad*.

54. *Mi-bskyod-dpah*.

55. *Rin-hbyung*.

56. *Od-dpag-med*.

57. *Den-hgrub*.

58. Or attitudes, *pyag-rgya*, *Saukr. mudra*.

59. The right index-finger touching the fingers of the left hand.

60. The right hand hanging and resting on the right knee.

61. The right arm extended and the open hand directed towards the earth as if to attract beings to it.

62. Both hands resting one on the other, palms upwards.

63. The Arm raised, the hand presented open, the fingers pointed upwards.

64. *P'yag-na-rdor*.

65. *Tsc-dpag-med*.

66. *Rnam-gzigs*.

67. *Gtaug-gtor-can*.

68. *Ta'm-c'ad-skyot*.

69. *Ko'r-va-hjigs*.

70. *Gser-t'ubpa*.

71. *Byang-C'ub-Sems-dpah*.

72. Kun-tu-bzang-po.
73. P'yag-rdor.
74. Pyag-rin-chen.
75. Spyan-ras-gzigs: pron. Chanresi.
76. P'yag-na-t'sog.
77. Sgrol-ma.
78. Sgrol-ma dkar-po and ljangs ku.
79. Hjam-pai-dbyanga-pa: pron. Jam-jang. His sword of great understanding cut the darkness of ignorance.
80. Byams-pa: pron, Champa or Jampa.
81. Ch'os-skyong.
82. Sin-dje.
83. Dzam-bha-la.
84. Dgra-lha.

5

The Lamaistic Clergy

The term *lama* is applied indiscriminately to the clergy of Tibet, but strictly speaking it should only be applied to high dignitaries who only acquire it after having given proofs of profound knowledge. In reality the clergy is composed of 5 distinct classes, the *genyen*¹ or listener, the *getsul*² or novice, the *gelong*³ or ordained priest, the *lama* or superior priest and the *khanpa*⁴ or overseer (abbot or bishop). Above this hierarchy in which promotion is earned by merit and holiness are two higher ranks conferred by birth, those of *khubilgan*, the incarnation of a Tibetan saint, and of *khutuktu*, that of a Hindu saint. Finally the edifice is crowned by the two sublime dignitaries, the Panchen Rinpoche and the Dalai Lama.

The attractions of the priesthood are many, but they are strengthened by a law or usage⁵ which compels every family to vow one of its sons, ordinarily the eldest, to the priesthood. The boy is presented at the age of 7 or 8 by his father, mother or guardian in a monastery. After a cursory examination of the family's standing⁶ he is medically examined as any deformity, epilepsy, leprosy or phthisis would disqualify him. The boy is then entrusted to some kinsman in the monastery or to an aged monk who is charged with his literary and religious education. He keeps his lay garb and his hair and can be visited by his kinsmen every week. After two or three years of study, legally two suffice, his *gegan* or religious instructor asks for his admission as a *genyen* or catechumen, which necessitates a rigid examination of his conduct and attainments.

At the age of not less than 15 the *genyen* can solicit admission to the novitiate. Aided by his preceptor he presents himself before the chapter of the monastery and answers the questions prescribed by the

Vinaya as to his person and condition, and undergoes a severe examination in dogma. If he fails he is sent back to his family and his preceptor is fined. If he succeeds he is made to take the vows of *pravajya* or quitting his house, his head is shaved, he is dressed in the red or yellow robe of his order and given the regulative utensils. He thus becomes a *getsul* and can attend all religious functions, without taking an active part in them.

At 20 after further study of theology, he may ask to be ordained. This requires a fresh examination, lasting three days and a series of debates on religious topics, tests so difficult that the unhappy candidate is allowed three tries. If he fails he is definitely expelled the order, but generally proceeds to exercise irregular functions as a sorcerer *lama* in the village. If he passes he is invested with all rights and powers of the finished cleric.

Once invested with the character of holiness the *gelong* is qualified to act in all the rites of the cult and may even become, by election, head of a minor monastery. So the majority go no further, but the more ambitious or those devoted to learning go to continue their studies in the great university-monasteries such as Depung, Sera, Galdan, Garmakhya and Moru. The two last teach especially astrology, magic and other occult sciences as well as theology and mathematics. After difficult and costly examinations the successful candidate can obtain the degree of *geses*⁷ or licentiate, with which most are contented, of *rabjampa*⁸ or *lharamba*, 'doctor in theology.' Adepts in occult science take the special title of *choi-chong*.⁹ The holder of any of these degrees is entitled to be styled *lama*. Another honorific title *choi-je*¹⁰ is awarded by the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Rinpoche to clerics distinguished by sanctity, but it confers no right to exercise the superior functions which the *geses* and *lharambas* can perform. Among the former are chosen the superiors of the monasteries of middling importance, some being elected by the chapters, others being nominated by the Dalai Lama or Panchen Rinpoche. The latter supply the *khanpos* who are promoted by those two hierarchs to form his entourage with the title of Councillor or *Tsanit*. They thus correspond to the cardinals of the Roman church fulfilling various functions, such as abbots of the great monasteries, with an ecclesiastical jurisdiction like that of bishop, coadjutor of the incarnate Lamas, governors of provinces and occasionally generals of the army.

The *khubilgans* are very numerous, but enjoy a purely local influence, confined to the district of their own monasteries, whereas the *khutuktu*, fewer in number, receive a greater veneration and their spiritual authority almost independent is exercised over wide areas. They include such dignitaries as the Dev or Depa-*raja*, the spiritual and temporal sovereign of Bhutan.

Another high dignitary in the Lamaic church is the grand Lama of the sect and monastery of Sakya who, though not an incarnation, is the hereditary successor¹¹ of Matidvaja, nephew of the celebrated Sakya Pandita P'agspa who converted Mongolia and on whom the emperor Khubilai Khan conferred in 1270 spiritual authority over all-Tibet. In spite of the predominance of the orthodox Gelugpa order, the State church, his authority is still very great and is acknowledged, atleast nominally, by all the sects of 'red' *lamas* who are opposed to that of the Dalai Lama. Tibetan politics centre round the position of the Dalai Lama whose authority is more nominal than real. Even his spiritual and doctrinal authority is frequently disputed by dissenting sects, which nevertheless regard him as chief of the religion and revere him as a true incarnation of Chausi and his representative on earth.

The *lamas* only distantly resemble the *bhikshus* of early Buddhism. Wool has naturally replaced cotton in their garb, but in order to observe the canon which required a monk in the presence of a superior or of the *sangha* on in the temple to wear a mantle draped over the left shoulder so as to expose the right shoulder and arm, the Tibetan monk during the offices wears a mantle or large scarf (*lagoi*) over his other vestments. This scarf is, like the robe, yellow for the orthodox sect and red for the unreformed or Nyigmapa sects. Instead of going bareheaded the *lamas* wear caps or hats, red or yellow, of felt or silk, to indicate not only the sect but the rank of the wearer; and for use during the offices they have a choir cap, always red or yellow, which is a kind of stiff Phrygian cap surmounted sometimes by a crest of *chenille* which gives it a curious resemblance to the Grecian helmets of the Homeric age.

Like the *bhikshu* the Tibetan monk must have certain utensils, viz. a bowl to receive alms in, a razor and a needle-case, as well as a rosary, a praying-wheel, a small gourd for holy water enclosed in a kind of bag of cloth, silk or velvet, a tinder-box and a knife. Generally

the begging bowl as useless is replaced by a wooden tea-cup of the common type. the bowl is the less necessary as daily begging has been suppressed, the monks being supported by the vast resources of the monasteries which are continually being increased by voluntary gifts or by imposts of all kinds levied on the pious superstitions of the faithful laity. The canon has also been greatly relaxed as regards abstinence and diet generally. The fasts are less frequent and severe, being restricted to the rainy season (*vassa*)—or rather to the corresponding period in the calendar, for there is no monsoon in Tibet. The end of the time during which it falls in India is observed as a rigid fast for four days and by certain solemn ceremonies for which the community prepares by fasts of two, three or four days. Exemptions can, however, be obtained in case of illness or weakness, and the fasts are also sensibly mitigated by the consumption of tea which is only deemed to break the fast of the fourth day of the *nyungpar*, 'to continue the abstinence', a ceremony during which it is forbidden even to swallow one's saliva. The canon does not interdict such austerities and mortifications of the flesh, however severe, as the devout may wish to impose on themselves, but in theory the assent of one's superiors should be obtained unless one belongs to the class, by no means numerous, of the hermit ascetics who are not dependent on any monastery. The only dietary rule incumbent on the *bhikshus* was to avoid eating more than one meal a day and this rule is observed in Tibet but mitigated by the absorption of many cups of tea (eight or ten during the exercises and offices) and two or three cups of tea-gruel, a mixture of tea, milk and butter, every morning and evening. While the principal meal is taken in the common refectory or separately in the cells these collation of tea or gruel are served in the hall of the monastery or even in the temple during suspension of the office arranged for the purpose.

The modification which Buddhism has undergone have changed the daily life of the monks profoundly. While the *bhikshu* of its early phase had no occupations save to take his turn at begging, to listen to the Master's teaching, meditate on the truths of the Law and endeavour to spread them, the institution of a cult which has become more and more complex created for the priest-monk new and absorbing duties, in Tibet more than elsewhere, looking to the eminently sacerdotal

character which it assumed there. Without describing the studies, serious and difficult enough, which candidates must undergo, the daily life in the cloisters of the lamaist monk is in reality very minutely occupied. A little before dawn the tinkling of the bell or the resonant call of the conch summons the denizens of the monastery who as soon as they awake mutter a prayer, make hasty ablutions and recite on their rosaries the prayers specially consecrated to their tutelary deities of whom each chooses one as his patron saint. At a fresh signal from bell or trumpet monks and novices, dressed in choral mantle and hat, go in procession to the temple and in profound silence take their seats according to their rank. There, after some prayers, tea is served and then they perform the ritual in honour of the Boddhisattva Chanresi, of the holy disciples of Buddha and of the Yidams and for the welfare of dead commended to their prayers. Then they take a repast of tea and gruel and after an invocation to the Sun withdraw to their cells for private devotions. Towards 9 a.m. the community re-assembles in the temple for a service in honour of the divinities who guard against the demons. At midday a new convention is followed by the chief meal of the day. Then they are free till 7 p.m. when they re-assemble to make offerings at the temple, to teach novices, to debate questions of dogma, discipline and philosophy. Finally at 7 p.m. they gather together for the last time to do the service of acts of grace, followed by the daily examination of the tasks of the novices and candidates. During each sitting tea is served thrice.

But these do not exhaust a *lama's* functions. In Tibet he is not merely a priest. He is teacher, scholar, physician, writer, and artist, wizard, and he should devote himself in the moments of freedom, which the sacred offices leave him, to the branch of occupation which he has chosen. In the monasteries all or nearly all the monks are charged with the education of boys destined to the priesthood, and in the villages, where there are no schools, it is the resident *lamas*, generally one of the failures of the nearest monastery, who fulfills the functions of schoolmaster and teaches children to read, write and cypher well enough to use the ready-reckoner. It is noteworthy that even in the tents of the nomad shepherds men and women possess the rudiments of education. As writers and calligraphists many *lamas* devote themselves to re-copying the sacred writings or reprinting them

by means of wooden blocks. While lay artists are not unknown, especially at Lhasa, the works of monkish artists are preferred on account of the sanctity which attaches to their works. These include illuminated manuscripts, paintings on silk, cloth and paper, frescoes, charms, amulets and metal-work, usually of a religious character.

The practice of medicine is entirely in the hands of the *lamas* who, if indifferent surgeons, are skilled in the use of simples and learned in the secular lore of plants. They are also the only persons qualified to expel demons to whose maleficence all ills are ascribed. Exorcism is thus their chief source of income. As a science it is practised by all, even by those of the orthodox sect. Even in a temple it finds a place as the demons of evil must be expelled from it before the officè is begun. Another important function of the *lamas* is the prediction of the future by astrology. But those of the orthodox sect to their credit refuse as far as possible to lend themselves to these practices, which Tsong-khapa and the teachers of the sect condemned, though they are often obliged to perform them in order to satisfy the wishes of their faithful laymen.

Besides the monks there are communities of nuns, instituted on the model of the Indian Bhikshunis. To such foundations Buddha only assented with reluctance. The nuns in Tibet are subject to the same obligations as the monks, wear the same garb, though the robe is slightly longer, and have to sacrifice their hair. But their discipline is stricter. They must obey 258 rules of conduct instead of 250 as the monks do. They owe respect and obedience to the monks, whatever, their rank, and all their convents, even if there be an abbess, are subject to the spiritual and disciplinary direction of an aged monk from the nearest monastery who presides even at the general confession of the Pratimoksha. At one time nuns were numerous in Tibet, but nowadays their numbers have diminished. Their principal order has its seat in the monastery at Samding and its abbess is a perpetual incarnation of the goddess or feminine Bodhisattva, Dorje P'agmo¹², who is represented with three heads, one a sow's.

Om mans padme hum.—This formula we are now able to explain. It has hitherto been explained as meaning: 'Oh, thou jewel in the lotus!' But it is clear that Manipadme is the vocative of Manipadma, the deity of the jewel lotus, the *shakti* of Manipadma who

must be identical with Padmapani or Avalokiteswara. The formula goes back to the times of Sron-btsan-sgam-po.¹³

The Hindu-Buddhists of Lahul—I have said that Spiti is the only portion of British Territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kulu subdivision, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alex. Anderson, the officer incharge of Kulu, writes:—"In Kulu including Waziri Rupi and outer and inner Seoraj, the population is Hindu with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Lahul there is a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hinduism in Lahul has advanced, and Buddhism retreated.¹⁴ In the valley of the Chandra Bhaga, Hinduism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hinduism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kulu, and find it to heir advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hinduism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhaga, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hinduism is advancing. The people declare that they are Hindu Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindu; and the Moravian missionaries at Kailang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The Lamas of Lahul¹⁵ will not eat with a European, while the Lamas of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hinduism is ascribed in part to the influence of the Thakurs or Barons of Lahul; but it is apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindu. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Brahmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindu Kulu as Hindus.'

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He writes:—"Buddhism is the dominant religion throughout the separate valleys of the Bhaga and Chandra. The professors of its in these parts seem to prefer to call themselves Hindu, but this is a mere pretension. They are Buddhists, and the majority wish at present to be nothing else. However, in speaking of the now prevailing religions are still to a great extent pervaded by the demon worship which no doubt alone prevailed in Lahul in early times."

Even the transition from Hindu to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible. Mr. Anderson writes in another place:—"A Kanet (a Hindu caste) cuts his scalp lock and becomes the disciple of some Lama, and this may even be after marriage. The Lamas of Lahul may marry, the sons belonging to their father's original caste. Lamas sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their scalp-locks to grow, and are again received as Kanets. These facts show how intimately Hinduism and Buddhism are connected in Lahul. It is still common for both Brahmans and Lamas to be present at weddings and funerals."

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Lahul Lamas save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hinduism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Lahul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the fleshpots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Nowadays sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple. Even in 1868 the so called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *lhas* or local genii, employed Brahmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and beliefs in witches and magic of their Hindu brethren. The same change which has taken place in Lahul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanaur, for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the present Census the State of Bashahr returns only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Lahul and Spiti were returned as Hindus, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts; and in 1872 Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—"The people of Lahul have nowadays so much traffic with

Hindus that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all-Hindu ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rajas of Kulu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Lahulis and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindus more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kulu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindu exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindus no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindu races into one great empire increases the power which Hinduism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindu, and as Hindus the Lahulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botias (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Lahuli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladakh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladakh and refused to eat with him for fear that may Hindu servants might tell tales against him in Kulu and Kangra.

LAHUL AND ITS PRE-BUDDHIST RELIGIONS

The three dialects of Lahul are Bunan, Manchat and Tinan. Their relationship to the Mundari languages is exactly the same as that of Kanauri though they possess a Tibetan vocabulary which preserves a phonetic stage of that language much more archaic than any known dialect of Tibetan.

Manchat is also the name of a tract which has preserved an ancient custom, probably Mundari. A slab of stone is put up by the roadside in memory of a deceased person and on many of them is a rock-carving of a human figure in the centre or a portrait of he deceased in relief. Those erected recently have a spot smeared with oil in the centre. In the village temples stone slabs are also found on which are carved rows of figures, often exceeding ten in number. These too are well bathed in oil. At irregular intervals rich families which have lost a member continue to feast the whole village and a slab with these

portraits of the dead is placed in the temple in recognition of this. The older slabs represent the ancient costume of Lahul—a frock reaching from the loins to the North American Indians. In this costume a rock-carving near Kyelang depicts a man hunting the wild sheep.

The most ancient religions of Lahul were probably phallus and snake worship—the cults of the fertilising powers of sun and water. The original phallus was a raw stone, set up in a small grove or near a temple door. It was smeared with oil or butter. The polished stones found in Manchat owe their origin to the introduction of modern Hinduism into the valley—from the Chamba side in the 11th century A.D. The village temples are small huts with a sloping gable roof of shingles and a ram's head, also a symbol of creative power, at the end of the topmost beam. They preserve the oldest type of habitation in Lahul—which was probably evolved when the country was better timbered than it is now.

Human sacrifice at Kyelang was performed to benefit the fields. The peasants had to find a victim in turn—and probably slaves were kept for this purpose. One year a widow's only son was to be sacrificed as she had no servants, but a wandering hermit offered to take his place if he were well fed till the day of execution. On the appointed day he was led with much noise to the wooden idol of the god of the fields whom he challenged to take his life. But the god failed to respond and so the hermit smote him with the executioner's axe and cast the fragments of the idol into the river which carried them down to 'Gugti where they were caught and put up again. Another version, however, makes the god of the field a rose-tree which was borne down to Gugti by the water and there replanted. Since then the god has had to be content with the sacrifice of a goat and mention of the courageous *lama's* name suffices to terrify him.

In Manchat the last human sacrifice was that of the queen, *Rupi rani*, who was buried alive. With her last breath she cursed the name so that no one now lives to a greater age than she had attained when she was immolated.

Between 600 and 1000 A.D. the decline of Buddhism in Kashmir deprived its monks of their revenues and drove many of them to settle in Ladakh and Western Tibet. The destruction of the monastery at

Nalanda in the 9th century was its culminating disaster. Lotsava Rinchen-bzango (c. 954) settled in Ladakh and the Kashmiri monks first settled at Sanid in Zangakar and built the Kanika monastery.¹⁶

Buddhism seems to have entered Lahul from India in the 8th century A.D. The famous Buddhist missionary, Padma Sambhava, is mentioned in connection with its oldest Buddhist monasteries as well as Hindu places of worship in adjacent provinces. He visited Zahor (Mandi) and Gazha (= Garzha). Three such temples are known, viz. Gandola at the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga, Kangani in Manchat, and Triloknath in Pangi-Lahul. They are wooden structures with pyramidal roofs and interesting old wood carvings.

Lamaistic Buddhism entered Lahul in the 11th or 12th century and from about 1150 to 1647 Lahul formed in a loose way part of the Ladakhi empire. The monasteries of this latter type are distinguished by their flat roofs.¹⁷

THE BUDDHISM OF KANAUR

An account of the form of Buddhism found in Kanaur is given in Vol. III, pp. 447-54, *infra*. To it the following list of the Tibetan gods popularly accepted in Kanaur, in theory if not in practice, may be added, together with a note on divination¹⁸—

The Tibetan deities and their mantras with explanations:

(1) *Nam-chohra* (God) or Narayan: is said to be of white complexion with two hands (holding an umbrella in the right, and with the left a mungoose vomiting diamonds), and riding on a lion called Singe. The *mantra* is:—*Om behi-sharmane swaha*. 'May God bless us.'

(2) *Langan-darse* or *Chhog-dak*: the deity Ganesha, the remover of obstacles. He is represented as crimson in colour with an elephant head having a human body with four hands, holding respectively a hook used in driving elephants, a noose as a weapon of war, a boon and a lotus, and having only one tusk. The *mantra* is:—*Om zambala zalindae swaha*. 'May God cast away all obstacles and bestow upon us wealth.'

(3) *Tarema* or *Chheringma*: the goddess of wealth or long life, equivalent to Lakshmi or Mahalakshmi. She is represented as of golden

colour, with two hands, holding in the right a spear, and in the left a diamond cup full of jewels, riding on horse-back. The *mantra* is: *Om birunakhe choozam dukhe hum hira hang tare dukhe bishumate bimaye swaha*. 'O thou mother of the world, be pleased to grant us prosperity and long life.'

(4) *Dukar*, the Indian Trinity, equivalent to Dattatreya-muni, is represented as of white complexion, with three heads, yellow, white and blue in colour, and eight hands, holding respectively an image of the deity *Hopamed*, an arrow, a thunderbolt, and a boon in the four right hands; in the four left hands, *abhaya*, a noose, a bow and a nectar-cup respectively, and seated in the Padmasana attitude. The *mantra* is:—*Om shri panma latita baira toda hulu hulu hum phat swaha*. 'O thou reverend sage, promote our welfare, and destroy our enemies.'

(5) *Paldan-lamo*, the supreme goddess, equivalent to Mahakali, is represented as of dark blue colour with three eyes (one in her forehead) and four hands (holding in the rights a naked sword and a human skull full of blood, and in the left a lotus and a long trident), wearing a garland of human heads and a snake of green colour as her sacred thread, riding on a mule, with a green snake for a bridle and a saddle of human skin, and with a crown of five human head-bones with a streak of moon in the centre. Her fierce teeth are exposed as is her tongue, and her eyes are full of indignation. The *mantra* is:—*Om hum shriya deba kali kali maha-kali hum zo*. 'O supreme goddess, keep us from all evil.'

(6) *Dolma*, a goddess or *devi*, is described as of white complexion, with two hands, offering a boon in the right, and the left in the *Abhaya* position. She is dressed in a splendid robe wearing many ornaments and much jewellery; seated on a lotus. The *mantra* is: *Om tare tu tare ture swaha*. 'O goddess, thou, who art the remover of worldly troubles, bestowest upon us blessings.'

(7) *Ningmet-cheebe*, the deity of health and long life. The following is a *mantra* of this deity, used by the Tibetans and Kanaur people for securing a long, prosperous and healthy life. It is found in the scripture called *Chooss*. They believe that, whosoever, repeats it daily as many times as possible, will enjoy a happy life for 100 years—

*O Ningmet-chhebe darsen-chang-razi,
dingmet-khembe wangbo-jambe-yang,
dudpung malu chomdan-sangwe-dakk,
gasang-gabe chung-gyan-chung gafa,
lobsang-dak-para shyablasowande.*

(8) (a) *Ganbo chhag-du-gba*, the goddess Tara, or Tara-Devi, is described as of blue colour like the forget-me-not, with six hands, a fat short body, three eyes and wearing a lionskin. The *mantra* is: *Om siha hum phat*. 'Turn away enemies.'

(b) *Ganbo-chhag-jiba*, Tara-Devi, has four hands.

(c) *Ganbo-chhag-niba*, Tara-Devi, has only two hands. In other respects these two are like *Ganbo-chhag-dugba*, and the *mantras* are the same.

(d) *Gonkar-chhag dugba*, Tara-Devi, is said to be of white complexion, but in other respects is like *Ganbo-chhag-dugba*. The *mantra* is:—*Om shum mani chum mani hum phat swaha*.

(e) *Ganbo-pening chhog-jiba zil-ziba*, Tara-Devi, is of white complexion, having four heads and four arms and wearing a garland of human heads, but resembling in other respects *Ginbo chhag-dugba*. The *mantra* is:—*Grihana payah grihana payah, hum phat swaha, hanaho bhagawana bajra bisderanza hum phat swaha*, O goddess, be pleased to accept this milk, and shower down upon us thy blessings.'

The following is a chant or *mantra*, found in the *chhoss*, to be repeated daily for the success of any business or transaction—

*Om bajra sato samaya manu pala tinupa, tita tito mewawa,
supkhayo mewawaanu raja inewarya, sarba siddhi mewaryang,
sudang michio dang, hyarya hum hum phot swaha.*

The following six chants or *mantras* of the Tibetan scriptures, written in the Tibetan character called Bhumi, are repeated many times (often more than a hundred) by the Lamas to cure a man suffering from the influence of an evil-spirit, ghost, demon & c.:

- (1) *Om yama raja sadho meya,
yame daru nayo daya,
yadayo nira yakkhaya,
chhani rama hum hum phat phat swaha.*

- (2) *Om tan-gya rika hum phat.*
- (3) *Om dekhyā rati hum phat.*
- (4) *Om danta rika hum phat.*
- (5) *Om bajra rati hum phat.*
- (6) *Om muwa rati hum phat.*

DIVINATION

Divination by a series of 50 picture cards is practised in Kanaur, as well as in Tibet. The full description of it is too long to be reproduced here, but many of the cards are pictures of gods, etc. which are of considerable interest.

For example—

1. *Fak-pa-jam-pal*: the deity Dharmaraj or Dharamaraja means: 'You will succeed by worshipping your deity.'

2. *Chung mong-bu-thong-ma padminip*: a lady with her son: 'You will get many sons and be successful in your affairs; any trouble can be averted by adoration of your deity.'

3. *San-gya-malla*, Ashwini-kumara: the celestial physician: 'You are to attain long life and always succeed, but keep your mind firmly fixed on God.'

4. *Dug-dul* Naga Sheshanaga: the cobra: 'This forebodes no good but loss of money, corn and animals, and but danger of illness; by worship of your deity, a little relief may be obtained.'

5. *Serga-sati*: the golden hill, Sumeru-parvata: 'You will achieve success; and if there is fear of illness, it can be removed by worship of your deity.'

6. *I ak sam-shing*: the Celestial tree which grants everything desired: 'You are welcome everywhere; your desires will be fulfilled but with some delay; if there is any risk of sickness recovery is to be gained by adoration of your deity.'

7. *Sai-la-mo*; the goddess Devi Bhagavati: 'You are to obtain prosperity of every kind; the king will be pleased with you; but in the attainment of your object there will be quarrels; a woman is

troublesome to you, but should you agree with her you will be successful.'

8. *San-gya-tan-ba*: the deity Buddha Shaky Singha: 'The king is greatly pleased with you; your desire will be achieved; but if you fear illness, then worship your deity steadfastly.'

9. *Gyal-bo*: the king of ghosts, Brahma-rakshasa: 'You will be unsuccessful in every way; your friends have turned against you; an evil spirit pursues you; better engage in God's service, or make a pilgrimage to your deity, then your fate will be all right.'

10. *Nam-gyal-bum-ba*: the nectar-pot, *Amrita-kalasha*: 'The auspices are excellent; if you are suffering from any illness, worship of your deity will soon restore you to health.'

11. *Ral-di* a *dodhdra-khadga*: 'All your desires will be fulfilled; you will be blessed with an heir; you are to receive wealth from the king; if there is any trouble, it is on account of your kinsmen, and can be only removed by agreeing with them.'

12. *Dimo-da-jak*: a female evil spirit, *dakini* or *dayan*: 'You are to lose wealth and suffer great trouble; your relatives are against you; there is no remedy but to worship your deity steadfastly, and that will indeed give a little relief.'

13. *Dar-se-gya dum*: the thunder-bolt, *basra*: 'He is your enemy whom you take for a friend; there is some fear from the king, perhaps you may be fined; your object will not be gained, so it is better for you to adore your deity.'

14. *Yu-don-ma*: a goddess, *devi*: 'You are devoted to everyone's welfare, but there is a doubt as to the accomplishment of your desire; you will be successful but only after great delay; if you ask about anyone's sickness it is due to the anger of your deity, whose worship will of course remove the trouble.'

15. *Ni-md*: the sun, *Surya*: 'You earn much, but it is all spent, your friends and relatives are ungrateful; at first you will suffer great trouble, but at last you will succeed; if there is anyone indisposed, then it is owing to the lack of worship of your deity, whose adoration will certainly remove the sickness.'

16. *Dug*: thunder of the cloud, *Megha garjana*: 'You are welcome to everybody; you are to be blessed with prosperity; if there is anyone ill in the family, it is due to his defiling a water-spring, which should be well cleaned, then he will recover.'

17. *Du-chi mum-ba*: a golden pot, *swarna-kalasha*: 'You are always happy, and your desires will be fulfilled; should you be suffering from illness ask the help of a physician and worship your deity heartily, then you will be in perfect health.'

18. *Ser-nya-yu-nya*: of fish, *mina-yuga*: 'You will get much wealth and many sons, the king will hold you in esteem; your desire will be fulfilled with but little delay; if there is anyone sick in the family, then have the worship of your deity duly performed and he will be restored to health.'

19. *Pan-chhenla*. the king of the Bhlis, *Bhilla-rajā*: 'You have great fear of your enemy, but be assured that he will be destroyed; the king will be pleased with you, and all will love you; if there is someone ill he should devote sometime to the worship of his deity, which will restore him to perfect health.'

20. *Chhu-lang*: a she-buffalo, *Mahishi*: 'You have a quarrel with your kinsmen; you are to suffer from some disease; there is no remedy save worship of your deity, by which a little relief may be obtained.'

21. *Sin-moral-chan-ma*: a she-cannibal, *Manushya-bhakshika*: 'You are to lose health and prosperity; your offspring will never live; if you ask about anyone's sickness that is due to failure to worship your deity, but if you will heartily adore him there will be some relief.'

22. *Sitpa-San-if*: the golden mountain, *swarna parvata*: 'All have enmity with you, even your relatives are against you and you are fond of quarrels; there is also fear of illness, which is due to your troubling a woman; should you agree with her, there will be no fear of it.'

23. *Sai-lamo* (2nd): *Batuka-Bhairava*, the deity *Bhairava*: 'You have prosperity, servants, and quadrupeds; your desire will be fulfilled; should there be anyone sick in the family, it is due to his committing some sin in a temple, and that can be removed by the worship of your deity.'

24. *Mai-kha-ne-cho*: a parrot, *tota* or *suwa*: 'There will be a quarrel; you will have to suffer much by sickness, which is due to your impurity in the god's service: you should worship your deity steadfastly, then you will get some relief.'

25. *Gi-ling-ta*: a steed: 'You are to lose wealth; you frequent the society of the wicked, spend money in bad ways; there is no remedy but to worship your deity, without whose favour you will not be successful.'

26. *Nyan-ba-du-thok*: a mariner or sailor: 'You will fail in your business and have no hope of success at all; there is risk to health, but if you worship your deity you will get a little relief.'

27. *Shya-ba-khyi*: a hunting-dog: 'The king is against you; your friends act like enemies; should there be someone ill, he will have to suffer much, and for this there is no remedy but to worship your deity, by which you will get a little relief.'

28. *Mam-za-pya*: the peacock, *mayura*: 'You have a dispute with your kinsmen; your mind is full of anxiety, loss of money and honour is impending; all are against you, so it will be well for you to worship your deity heartily.'

29. *Chhang-na-dar-ze*: the deity Kala-bhairava: 'Fortune is to smile on you; you will reap a good harvest, get good servants and quadrupeds; if there is anyone ill in the family, then he will be restored to perfect health by worship of his deity.'

30. *Dar-ze*: the thunderbolt, *baira*: 'All your desires will be fulfilled; you will be blessed with many sons; the king will favour you, and your enemies will not succeed in troubling you.'

31. *Dung*; conch-shell: *shankha*:

32. *Cha-rok*: a crow, *kaka*, *kawwa*:

33. *Gan kar-bo*: the Manas-lake Mana-sarovara:
all three of good omen.

34. *Chang-tak*: the lion, *sinha*:—a bad omen.

35. *Ma-pang-yum-chho*: a sacred lake, Manu-talai:—a good omen.

36. *Chhok-ten-nak-po*: a black temple; *Kala-mandira*:—a bad omen.

37. *Cha-khyung*: the vehicle of Vishnu, *gatara*, *Vishnu-ratha*: a good omen.

38. *Teu*: a monkey, *bandar*, *ranara*:

39. *Yung-rung*: a wheel, *chakra*:

40. *Chhokten-karbo*: the temple of the man-lion, *Nrisinha mandir*: all three good omens.

41. *Chyang-ku-ro-janma*: a lion, *sinha*:

42. *Nad-pa*: disease, *rogavadha*:—both bad omens.

43. *Singha*: a lion: a good one.

44. *Bong-bu*: camel, *ustrah unt*:—a very bad one.

45. *Chhot-kang*: A small temple to the Buddhas made on the roof of the home:—a good omen.

46. *Chhumit*: a cascade, *ialaahara*:—a fairly good one.

47. *Nar-bu*; the fire, *Agni*:—a very good one.

48. *Mer 'nak-po*: the smoke, *dhumak*, *dhuwan*:—a had one.

49. *Dhan-jyut giba* a cow, *gaya*, *gauh*:

50. *Rubo*: a ram, *mesha*, *kharu*:—both good omens.

The ruling family of Bashahr is, according to the *Shastras*, held to be of divine origin, and the Lamaic theory is that each Raja of Bashahr is at his death re-incarnated as the Guru Lama or Guru of the Lamas, who is understood to be the Dalai Lama of Tibet. There is also another curious legend attached to the Bashahr family. For 61 generations each Raja had only one son and it used to be the custom for the boy to be sent away to a village and not be seen by his father until his hair was out for the first time in his sixth year. The idea that the first-born son is peculiarly dangerous to his father's life is not confined to Bashahr. Both these legends originate in the doctrine of the metem-psychosis, which is prevalent in the hills of the North-East Punjab and indeed throughout these provinces.

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2. Dge-taul, corr. to S. *sramanera*.
3. Dge-slong, corr. to S. *sramana*.
4. Mkan-po, corr. to S. *sthavira*.
5. Called *btsun-gral*.
6. Certain monasteries only adult candidates of high rank in which case the investigation is very searching.
7. Dge-sec.
8. Rabs hbyama-pa.
9. C'os-skyong.
10. C'os-rja, 'noble of the law.'
11. The 'red' *Limes* of the Sikya order are permitted to marry.
12. Sanskr. Vajravahari, 'sow of diamond.'
13. A.H. Francke in J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 462-3.
14. In an account of the religion of Lahul written for Mr. Lyall in 1868 by Rev. Mr. Heyde, whose long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs ensured its accuracy, that gentleman described the religion of Lahul as 'Essentially Buddhism,' and stated that pure Hindus were found in only a few villages and were a low set of Brahmans and that those of the remaining population who were not pure Buddhists "leaned more strongly towards Buddhism than Brahmanism." They maintained Buddhists monasteries, abjured beef, and "in case of severe illness, & c., would call in both Lamas and Brahmans who performed their respective rites at one and the same time."—D.I.
15. Mr. Anderson says elsewhere: "In Lahul I do not consider that all are Hindus. There are Lamas who ought certainly to have been shown as Buddhists, but there is a tendency to ignore Buddhism in Lahul." These Lamas must have returned themselves as Hindus unless there was some error in the compilation of our figures. The papers were in an unknown character and tongue, and had to be translated orally: but there could hardly have been any confusion about such a plain entry as that of religion; and if there had been, it is difficult to see why it should have been confined to the figures of Lahul and to the Buddhists only, and should not have affected those of Spiti and of other religions in Lahul also. There appear to have been only seven of these Lamas in Lahul in 1872, though there were also

110 cultivating landholders who had taken Lamaic vows but “had very little of the monk about them.”—D.1.

16. The monks of Kanika wear the red robe which shews that the yellow robe of such Zangskar monasteries as that at Gargya was not introduced by monks from Kashmir: A.H. Francke, *A Hist. of Western Tibet*, p. 51.
17. *Ib.*, pp. 181-91.
18. Furnished by P. Tika Ram Joshi.

6

Life of Guru Nanak

As a child Nanak was devoted to meditation on God, and at the age of 7 he was sent to the Hindu village school, where he composed the 35 verses¹ of the *Patti* in the Rag Asa of the *Granth*. Here Nanak received all his secular instruction, for he was early employed by his father as a buffalo-herd.

In due course he married and two sons were born to him, but this did not prevent his leading a life remote from thoughts of this world and his superhuman character was revealed to Rai Bular, the son of Rai Bhoie, who found him one day sleeping beneath a tree whose shadow had stood still to shelter him, while those of the other trees had moved, with the waning noon.²

Nanak showed no bent for any worldly vocation, but delighted in the society of saints and even wandering *faqirs*, and at last his father in despair sent him to Sultanpur, a town now in the Kapurthala State, where his brother-in-law Jairam, husband of his sister, Nanaki, was employed as a factor to Nawab Daulat Khan the Lodi, who after his long governorship of the Punjab called in Babur to aid him against his master's injustice.

At Sultanpur Nanak devoted himself to his duties, but his wife and children were left or remained at Talwandi, sometimes regarded as an indication that his domestic life was not happy. His wife, however, rejoined him after his travels and lived with him till his death. There too he was joined by an old acquaintance, Mardana the Dum, an itinerant musician, who accompanied his improvised hymns on his *rabab* or harp.³

At Sultanpur too Nanak was destined to receive that definite call to the office of religious leader to which he owes his title of Guru.

While bathing one day in the canal he was taken up by angels and transported into the presence of God who gave him a goblet of nectar with the command to spread the fame of God (Hari) through the world. Meanwhile his servant had carried home the news of his disappearance in the water, and the Khan had actually set fishermen to drag the canal for his body, when he re-appeared.

After this event Guru Nanak took the decisive step of distributing all that he had among the poor and accompanied by Mardana he left his house and began to preach. In popular phrase he turned *faqir*. His first pronouncement. 'There is no Hindu and no Musalman' led to his being cited, at the Qazi's instance, to appear before the Nawab, who invited him to accompany him to the mosque. Nanak did so—and while the Qazi led the prayers, he laughed. To the Qazi's remonstrances he replied that the latter had left a foal in his own courtyard and had throughout the prayers been anxious lest it should fall into the well. Amazed at Nanak's power of reading his thoughts the Qazi fell at his feet and acknowledged his power.

After this incident Nanak set out on what are often called his five pilgrimages, thus beginning his mission to call the people to the right path. The first lay eastward⁴, to the Shrine of Shaikh Sajan who had built a temple for Hindus and a mosque for Muhammedans—a proof of the religious toleration in fashion at this period of Indian history. But the Shaikh was given to murdering those who put up with him in his shop and stealing their property, until the Guru saw through him and made him become a repentant follower of his teaching. Tradition also takes Nanak to Delhi, where he restored a dead elephant to life and interviewed the Mughal emperor. Besides Shaikh Sajan he encountered many other *thags*, whom he converted. At the sack of Sayyidpur he was captured by Babur's troops and carried off, but coming under Babur's own notice he was honourably used and set at liberty.⁵

But he soon set out of his second or southward pilgrimage. That he ever reached Ceylon or formed there a *sangat* (congregation) of his disciples is hardly probable, and if he did so few authentic details of this journey have been preserved.

At Sialkot he heard that Hamza Ghaus was undergoing a 40 days' fast in order to acquire power to destroy the town, so he sat

under a plum (*ber*) tree and called thrice to the *faqir*. Receiving no reply he stood up and gazed at the lofty tower in a vault of which the *faqir* had shut himself, and burst open its walls so that the sun fell on the face of the recluse. This saint had promised sons to a Khatri of the town in return for a promise that the first-born should become his disciple and as the vow was broken had condemned all the inhabitants to annihilation. The Guru impressed on him the injustice of punishing all for the faults of a few.⁶ The Ber Baba Nanak still commemorates this incident.

On his third tour the Guru who was returning from Russia and Turkistan reached Hassan Abdal in 1520. On the top of the hill was a spring of water. Its summit was occupied by Wali Qandhari, a Muhammedan saint, who grew jealous of the Guru and refused to let Mardana draw water from it so the spring dried up and re-appeared at the spot where the Guru had halted. The Wali cast a huge rock down from the hill upon it, but the Guru stopped the rock with his hand, leaving an impression of it on the hill-side.⁷ Thence he continued his tour through Sialkot and witnessed the sack of Saidpur, near Eminabad, which he had foretold.⁸

Again Nanak returned to Talwandi, but only to make thence his third pilgrimage northwards into Kashmir, where he climbed Mount Sumera and had a lengthy discussion with the chiefs of the Jogis and according to some accounts with Shiva himself.

His fourth pilgrimage was to the West to Mecca, where he lay down and by chance turned his feet towards the Ka'aba. When reproached for this by the Qazi, Rukn-ud-Din, he challenged him to lay his feet in any direction where God's house did not lie, and wherever the Qazi turned Nanak's feet, there appeared the Ka'aba.⁹

Guru Nanak's fifth and last pilgrimage may be regarded as purely allegorical. He went to Gorakh-hatri where he discoursed with the 84 Siddhs, or disciples of Gorakh Nath. A temple exists at Nanakmata in the Kumaon or Naini Tal Tarai, about 10 miles from Khatima, a station on the Rohilkhand-Kumaon Railway. Not far from this place are still to be found several *maths* of *yegis*, from one of which sweet soap-nuts (*mitha retha*) are obtained by the *mahant* at Nanakmata. Two such trees are known in the Almora district; one at the place called the *Gulia ritha* by the hillmen, the other on the road

from Lahughat to Dhunnaghat. It appears that where new slioots spring from old decayed trunks, the fruit they bear loses its bitterness. Gorakh-hatri may be the name of some *math of yogis* in these hills. 'It was also, observes S. Gurbakhsh Bakhsh, 'the name of a well-known *math* at the Indian end of the Khaibar Pass, about two stages from Peshawar. Babur, who went twice to visit the place, gives an account of it and describes it as a well-frequented place to which Hindus came from distant places, and went through the ceremony of shaving themselves clean. Several low underground cells, entry to which was obtained by crawling along on all fours, and immense heaps of hair marked the place.' This seems to be the wellknown Gor-Khatri at Peshawar. Other authorities say that this the Guru's last pilgrimage was to the East and that it took him to Gorakhmata or Nanakmata.

Other accounts give more detailed and less ambitious accounts of the pilgrimages. On his first the Guru visited Eminabad where he meditated on a bed of pebbles (*ror*) where the Rori Sahib now stands.¹⁰ Here he composed a hymn in which he reproached the Khatri for subsisting on alms wrong from the people and expounded the merits of earning a livelihood by honest labour.

Nanak went to several other places also. At Haridwar he pointed out to the Hindus the hollowness of sending water to their forefathers. At Kurukshetra he proved the uselessness of such vain beliefs as not eating meat at an eclipse. At Jagannath he pointed out the right way to worship God and said that it did not consist in lighting lamps and so on. Among the other countries that he visited were Kabul, Baghdad, etc. But this pilgrimage is rejected altogether by the reforming Sikhs.

Nanak died at Kartarpur on the banks of the Ravi river in the Jullundur District in the house of his family, with whom he appears to have been reconciled. Before his death he transmitted his Guruship to Lahna, surnamed Angad, the second Guru, by a strikingly simple ceremony. Nanak laid five pice before Angad¹¹ and fell at his feet. This event occurred in 1537 A.D. [1594S].

The successive Gurus transmitted their office by this rite, but later on a cocoanut¹² was also laid before the successor thus appointed. Guru Nanak also went four times round his successor and then said that his own spirit had gone into his body so that he was from that

moment to be regarded as Nanak himself. It is now a common Sikh belief that each Guru inherited the spiritual light of Nanak and the doctrine is as old as Mohsin-ul-Fani.

Bhai Budha, a Jat, affixed the *tilak* or coronation mark on Angad's forehead and survived to witness the installation of no less than four of Angad's successors. Tradition says that while very young he came to Nanak and referring to the devastation of the unripe crops wrought by Babur's troops said that he was afraid of being untimely carried away by the angel of death. Nanak replied: 'Thou art old (Buddha) not young.' So he was named Bhai Buddha and lived till 1627. The significance of the *tilak* is wellknown. It is often if not generally affixed by a dominant or autochthonous agricultural class and in this instance the choice of Bhai Buddha represented the Jat recognition of the Guru's chiefship. To his sons' protests against their father's choice of Angad, Guru Nanak replied that not even the Guru's dogs suffered want, and that they should have clothes and food enough. In accord, probably, with this tradition, we find the Nanakputra or descendants of Nanak employed towards the close of the Sikh period in *banda-bhara*, a practice, whereby traders entrusted goods to a Nanakputra who engaged to convey them for a stipulated sum from Jagadhri to Amritsar, then the emporium of the Sikh states, paying all duties. The Nanakputras, from the sanctity which attaches to their persons, engaged enjoyed certain exemptions and were less subject to molestation from custom-officers' importunity than others.

Nanak's attitude to Islam is illustrated by several incidents in the above sketch of his life. To these the latter *janamsakhis* make many additions, which atleast record the traditional attitude of the earlier Sikhism to Islam. Thus immediately after Nanak's election for a spiritual life he is said to have been visited by Khwaja Khizr, the Muhammedan saint, who taught him all earthly knowledge.

The traditional account of Guru Nanak's funeral also records his attitude towards the two religions. When the Hindus and the Muhammedans both claimed his body he bade them lay flowers on either side of it, for Hindus on the right and for Muhammedans on the left, bidding them see whose flowers remained fresh till the following day. But next morning both lots of flowers were found fresh, while the body had vanished, signifying that it belonged to neither,

yet equally to both the creeds. Nanak expressed his religious thought in verses, composed in Panjabi, which form no insignificant part of the *Granth*. Nanak was absorbed, to use the Sikh phrase, on the 10th of October 1538 (the 10th of the light half of Asauj, Sambat 1596).

His successor, Guru Angad, was a Khatri of the Trihun section, who had fulfilled the Guru's ideal of unquestioning obedience to his will. Though perhaps illiterate, the invention of the Gurmukhi alphabet in 1533 is ascribed to Guru Angad¹³ and he also had much of what he had learnt about Nanak from Bala, the Sindhu Jat, a disciple of that Guru, reduced to writing. [1590S].

He himself, however, composed a few verses which are preserved in the *Granth*. He earned his living by twisting the coarse twine made of *munj*, thus following Nanak's teaching about alms. His death occurred in 1552 or 1553 at Khadur near Govindwal on the Bias, where he dwelt in seclusion since his accession to the Guruship. He had appointed his follower Amar Das, a Khatri of the Bhalla section, to succeed him, passing over his own sons as unworthy. [1609S].

Guru Amar Das resided at Govindwal whence he sent out 22 of his numerous disciples to various parts of the country to preach, dividing it into as many *manjas* or dioceses.¹⁴ He also built Kajarawal. But his most important act was the separation of the passive recluses of the Udasi order from the active lay Sikhs, thus giving the latter body something of a social character in addition to the religious ties which held it together. He organised and maintained a public refectory (*langar*) at which all the four castes ate together and no question was raised as to whether the food had been cooked by a Brahman or a low caste Sikh.¹⁵ Before his accession he had been a Vaishnava, and after it he built at Govindwal the grand *baoli* or oblong well with its 84 steps and landing places. It is a general belief among the Sikhs that, whoever bathes on these steps one by one on the same day repeating the *japji* with sincerity to the last step shall be saved from the 8,400,000 transmigratory forms and go direct to heaven. Guru Amar Das also pronounced against the Brahmanical rite of *sati*, reformed the ceremonies in vogue at marriage and death, forbade pilgrimages and the like, and added largely to the poetical literature of the Sikhs. His verses in the *Granth* are distinguished for simplicity and clearness. Guru Amar Das left two sons Mohan and Mohari, but

bestowed the *barkat* or apostolic virtue upon Ram Das, his son-in-law, as a reward for his daughter's filial love and obedience as well as the worth of Ram Das himself.

Ram Das succeeded as Guru in 1574. He was also a Khatri of the Sodhi section, which has played so pre-eminent a part in Sikhism. Guru Amar Das is said to have found an attentive listener in Akbar, but Ram Das entered into still closer relations with that tolerant emperor, and is said to have received from him the grant of a piece of land whereon he founded Ramdaspur, subsequently known as Amritsar, or the 'pool of salvation' from the ancient tank which lay in it, and which he repaired and enlarged. According to some authorities he also built in its midst the Harimandar, or temple of God (Hari), in which no idols were set up.

Guru Ram Das' poetical contributions to the *Granth* are clear and easy to understand, reproducing the traditional circle of Sikh thought as enunciated by the earlier Gurus.

This, the fourth Guru, was succeeded by Arjan, his youngest son,¹⁶ and henceforth the office becomes hereditary in the Sodhi section. Moreover with the accession of Arjan on the 3rd Bhadon *sudi* 1580. According to the oldest known record, the Sikh community enters on a new phase. He laid aside the rosary and garb of a *faqir* and dressed in costly raiment. Though not, it is sometimes said, a Sanskrit scholar, Guru Arjan was a man of considerable literary attainments and nearly half the *Adi Granth* was composed by him. [1638S].

He also collected the hymns of his predecessors and adding to them selections from the writings of the earlier reformers, Kabir, Namdeo, Ravi Das, and others, compiled the *Granth* or 'Book' of the Sikh commonwealth. A decalogue of ten commandments ascribed to this, the fifth Guru, has recently been discovered in Eastern Bengal. It is naturally very like the Mosaic, but one of the manuscripts indicates that the Sikhs were being boycotted and found it difficult to marry.¹⁷

But Arjan's activity was not confined to spiritual affairs. Hitherto the Gurus had lived on their own earnings like Angad, or on the voluntary offerings of their followers though these seem to have been in the main ear-marked to charitable purposes by Amar Das, but Guru Arjan established the beginnings of a fiscal system, appointing

collectors, called *masands*, to each of whom was assigned a definite district. Their deputies were called *meoras*,¹⁸ a term borrowed from Akbar's system. These appointments indicated an attempt at regular administration. Some writers hint that the 22 sees or *manjas* of Guru Amar Das became the 22 fiscal units of Guru Arjan. If this was so the change is significant of the gradual transformation of Sikhism even at that early stage. But disciples were also sent to Kabul,¹⁹ Kandahar, Sindh and even Turkistan not only to spread the Sikh faith but also for purposes of trade. He also permitted himself to be addressed as *sacha padshah* or 'true king,' 'Sodhi Sultan,' the Sodhi Sultan.²⁰ Apparently he obtained this title in consequence of the dignities bestowed on him for his services against Nalagarh. He continued Nanak's policy of toleration for and good relations with the Muhammedans, for the famous saint Mian Mir was a great friend of his and the happening to visit the Guru at this time he was asked to lay foundation stone of the Harimandar in 1589. But it was not well and truly laid and though the mason righted it the Guru prophesied that the temple would fall down and have to be rebuilt.²¹ In 1590 he founded Tam Taran. [1645S]

Guru Arjan's chief opponent was Chandu Lal, a *diwan* or finance minister of Akbar, whose daughter the Guru refused to accept for his son Har Govind. This led to an enmity which had dire results. Chandu Lal Denounced the Guru to the emperor as an enemy of Islam and though Akbar himself was not induced to persecute the Guru—on the contrary he honoured him in various ways and an account of Akbar's visiting Guru Arjan at his home and remitting the land revenue on a famine-stricken area at his request is given in the *Sęirul mutakharin*.—Chandü Lal's hostility predisposed his successor Jehangir against him. It was he who informed that emperor of the Guru's loan of Rs. 5000 to Prince Khusru. Indeed the *Dabistan*²², which contains the most probable account of Guru Arjan's death, says he was accused, like many other Punjab notables, of actual participation in Prince Khusru's rebellion. It is certain that he was condemned by Jehangir to a heavy fine.²³ Unable or unwilling to pay the sum demanded he was exposed of the sun's rays and perished of exhaustion in 1606.

Arjan's son Har Govind succeeded to the Guruship. He wore two swords typifying *amiri* or secular and *faqiri* or spiritual authority,

and he was the first Guru to take up arms against the Muhammedans to whom he certainly ascribed his father's death, whatever, the precise circumstances may have been. He built the stronghold of Hargovindpur on the upper reaches of the Beas, and thence harried the plains. To his standard flocked many whom want and misgovernment had driven from their homes. But at last Guru Har Govind fell into the hands of the imperial troops, and Jehangir kept him a prisoner at Gwalior for 12 years, until in 1628, on that emperor's death, he obtained his freedom by sacrificing his treasures.²⁴ Returning to Kiratpur the Guru renewed his attacks on the Muhammedan landowners and imperial officials of the plains. One of his last exploits was an expedition to Nanakmata, in the Tarai near Naini Tal, whose *faqir* Almast, the Udasi, complained that he had been expelled from his shrine by the Jogis, who had also burnt the *pipal* tree under which Guru Nanak had held debate with the followers of Gorakh Nath. This or another Almast had been deputed by this, the sixth Guru, to Shujatpur near Dacca and had there founded *sangat*. This *sangat* at Shujatpur was called after Natha Sahib, third in succession to this Almast.²⁵ In 1636, the Guru restored him to his shrine and returned to Kiratpur through Aligarh, Delhi and Karnal. This life of active military enterprise, lightened at intervals by sport²⁶, absorbed all Har Govind's energies and he contributed nothing to the *Granth*.

But interesting stories are recorded of his aversion to the ostentatious or undue exercise of spiritual power. Baba Gurditta, his eldest son, had restored to life a cow accidentally killed by a Sikh. The Guru rebuked him for this uncontrolled exhibition of spiritual force and the Baba went to the tomb of Budhan Shah, a Muhammedan *faqir*, where he lay down and gave up his soul. Similarly, Atal Rai, his fourth son, as a boy of 9 restored to life a playmate who had died of snake-bite and he too when reproached by the Guru for vying with the giver and taker of life by exercising miraculous power over death covered himself with a sheet and breathed his last. His tomb is close to the Kaulsar at Amritsar and is the highest building in that town.²⁷

Guru Har Govind was known also as the Chhatwan Badshah or 6th king among the Sikhs and so offerings of *karah parshad* are made at the Darbar Sahib at Lahore on the 6th of every month and the building is illuminated.²⁸ [1701S].

On his death at Kiratpur in 1645²⁹ his grandson Har Rai succeeded him.³⁰ [1718S]. Of this Guru we have an account by the author of the *Dabistan*, who knew him personally. Loss warlike than his grandfather, Guru Har Rai still maintained the pomp and circumstances of a semi-independent military chieftain. His bodyguard consisted of 300 cavalry with 60 musquesteers, and 800 horses were stalled in his stables. His alliance was successfully sought by another rebellious scion of the Mughal house, Dara Shikoh, who soon perished. Thereupon the Guru retreated to Kiratpur whence he sent his son Ram Rai to Delhi to negotiate pardon. Aurangzeb received the young envoy graciously, but detained him as a hostage for his father's loyalty. Har Rai contributed not a single verse to the Sikh scriptures. Dying in 1661 at Kiratpur he left his office to his second son Her Kishan, the 8th Guru, and as yet a minor.³¹ Ram, still a hostage, appealed to Aurangzeb, who seized the pretext for interference in the Guru's domestic affairs and summoned Har Kishan to Delhi. There he died of smallpox, after declaring that the Sikhs would find the next Guru in Bakala, a village on the Beas. Disputes regarding the succession inevitably arose and some of the Sodhis set up a Guru of their own,³² while Ram Rai urged his claims in reliance on imperial support. This, however, only alienated his own followers, and despairing of success he retreated to Dehra Dun, where he founded a sect of his own. [1712S].

[1721S] At length in 1664 Teg Bahadur³³ obtained recognition as the 9th Guru. Teg Bahadur was a great figure among the Sikhs. From his birth he was destined to be a scourge to his enemies, and foreseeing this his father named him Teg Bahadur. His personal likeness to Baba Nanak was also striking. Nevertheless his recognition was keenly contested by Dhir Mal, the elder son of Gurditta, the Udasi,³⁴ and Teg Bahadur was driven to seek refuge on a piece of land which he purchased from the Kahlur Raja. Here in 1665 he founded Anandpur. Still harassed by his opponents the Guru set out on a progress through the Malwa country—a tract still dotted with shrines, tanks and *dharmshalas* which commemorate his visits. Then he wandered through the Kurukshetra, and thence into Lower India, where the Sikh faith had many scattered adherents. The Sikh accounts of this progress are perhaps inaccurate in detail, but it is certain that Teg

Bahadur's itinerary was designed both to foster the Sikh faith where already established and to preach the Sikh doctrine throughout Lower India. Incidentally the existing records show that the network of Sikh organisation had been spread as far east as Patna and even Dacca, where a *masand* was posted.³⁵ Dacca indeed became a *hazur sangat* or provincial *sangat*, at first under the pontifical throne at Anandpur and later under the *takht* or archbishopric at Patna.³⁶ The *sangats* thus established were not merely places of worship but also wayside refectories which gave food and shelter to indigent wayfarers and each was under a *masand*, a term equivalent to viceroy. When in 1666 Teg Bahadur visited Dacca he found prosperous *sangats* at Sylhet, Chittagong, Sondip, Lashkar and elsewhere and by the time of Guru Govind Singh Dacca had earned the title of the home of Sikhism.³⁷ At Patna in 1666 was born the future Guru Gobind Singh. Not long afterwards the Guru returned to the Punjab, but Govind Singh remained in his native land until the Guru sent for him and he went to Anandpur.

Recent research has thrown considerable light on the life and propaganda of Guru Teg Bahadur. At that period the Aroras went north to Kabul and Kandahar, Balkh, Bukhara and even Russia, while the Khatri monopolised the markets of Eastern and Southern India. Hence when Teg Bahadur was persecuted by his Sodhi brethren and when even the *mutsaddis* of the temple at Amritsar shut its doors against him he found adherents in the Khatri communities dotted all over Hindustan, the Deccan and Eastern Bengal.³⁸ These colonies probably preserved the secular Kshatriya tradition of the independence of thought and freedom from Brahmanical control.

The enterprise of the Sikh missionaries and the distances to which they travelled may be gauged by the recently discovered itinerary of a pilgrim to the Sikh temples in Southern India and Ceylon. The author must have lived long before 1675, but he must have taken boat at Negapattan on the Coromandel coast and returned through Malayalam, in which country he found stray colonies of Bhatra Sikhs and met Mayadaman, grandson of Shivanath,³⁹ at Sattur. Inquiries recently made by B. Gurbakhsh Singh have thrown much light on the history of Sikhism in Southern India. [1732S].

The author of the itinerary mentions a viceroy at Tanjore—Airapati Naik. This and other indications would fix his date soon after

the battle of Talikote in Akbar's time. Other details as regards topography are also substantially correct. This account places Shiv Nath at Jaffna, in the extreme north of Ceylon. Sikh temples still exist at Rameshwar, Salur, Bhaker and Shivkanji in Madras and Colombo in Ceylon. Old temples also exist at Burhanpur, Surat, Bombay (and Mahalakshmi, Grant Road), Amraoti, Nirmal (District Adilabad—in the Nizam's Dominions). Manuscript copies of the *Granth Sahib* are to be found at Burhanpur and Surat, and another old copy with one Bolaji Tripathi at Lonovala (Poona).

The *sangat* at Colombo is in Colombo fort and a Brahmin Misra Jawala Parshad is now incharge. A Sindhi firm—Topan Singh, Mothuwal—claim to have been established in Ceylon from before Guru Nanak's time. Their head office is at Karachi and their *munib* or agent in Colombo, Gopal Das by name, is still known to be a good Sikh. Certain Egyptian mummies in the Colombo Museum are curiously enough identified by the local Sikhs as Shivnath, his wife and son! Large numbers of Khattris have been established in Burhanpur from very remote times, and are found as far south as Madras, where a Khatri, Raja Tuljaram, lived not many years ago in Tirmalkheri (Madras town).

At Salur where Guru Nanak is supposed to have held discussions with *yogis* many *maths* or *yogi* temples are found.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb's policy was bearing fruit. In his attempt to Muhammedanize India he had excited grave opposition and Guru Teg Bahadur recognized that if Guru Nanak's acquiescence in the Moslem sovereignty was to be revoked his own life must be the price of the revocation.⁴⁰ Accordingly he sent the Kashmiri *pandits* who had appealed to him in their distress to make a petition to the emperor in these words:—'We live on the offerings of the Kshattris. Guru Teg Bahadur, the foremost among them, is now seated on the throne of Guru Nanak and is Guru of all the Hindus. If thou canst first make him a Musalman, then all the Sikhs and Brahmans who follow him, will of their own accord adopt thy faith.' The emperor accordingly summoned the Guru to Delhi and he replied that he would come after the rains. That season he passed at Saifabad⁴¹ with Saif-ud-Din Whom he converted and then dismissing all his followers save five, among whom was his *diwan*, Mati Das Chhibra, he set out for Delhi. At

Samana a Pathan offered him a refuge, but the Guru went on to Delhi. There he was seized and resisting every inducement to forsake his faith was eventually put to death. To his son Govind Rai he sent a dying message to abide fearlessly in Anandpur. Govind Rai, then a boy of 9, received this behest at Lakhnaur, whence, he and his mother retired to Anandpur.

There he received his father's head, which was cremated at that place. Govind Rai was then acknowledged as the 19th Guru in 1675.

THE SIKHS RELATIONS WITH THE HILL STATES

The first of the Hill Rajas to accept the teaching of the Gurus was the Raja of Haripur, in Kangra. He was permitted to see the Guru Amar Das after eating from his kitchen at which food was prepared and eaten by all castes without distinction.⁴² This occurred before 1574.

In 1618 Guru Har Govind had subdued Tara Chand, Raja of Nalagarh, who had been in revolt against Jehangir. He was brought before the emperor and the Guru for his services obtained the honorary command of 1,000 men and 7 guns, with high judicial functions and other honours.

In 1627 Guru Har Govind was invited by some of the Hill Rajas to visit their territory, but he sent Baba Gurditta, his eldest son, to the (Jaswan) Dun and Hindur (Nalagarh) and he founded Kiratpur in that year.⁴³ [1684S].

In 1635, however, we find Guru Har Govind himself visiting Raja Tara Chand's territory.⁴⁴ [1992S].

In 1642 he joined forces with this State and helped the Raja to defeat the Nawab of Rupar.⁴⁵ [1698S].

About 1656 we find the Sikhs reducing the Raja of Kahlur (Bilaspur) to submission.⁴⁶ [1713S].

In 1632 Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, in whose territory the Guru Govind Singh was then residing, demanded gifts which included an elephant called Parsadi (or loans which he did not intend to return) from his guest. He deputed his *wazir*, Parmanand, to obtain these exactions, but the Guru declined to lend the offerings of the Sikhs. The Raja's personal threat of explosion was equally ineffectual and so he attacked the Guru but was routed, losing many men.⁴⁷ [1749S].

In 1684 Guru Govind Singh visited the Sirmur territory at the Raja's invitation and founded Paonta on the banks of the Jamna.⁴⁸ [17141S].

Bhim Chand's defeat, however, had rankled and he leagued himself with the Rajas of Goler, Katoch, Jaswal, Kathgarh and Nalagarh against him.

In 1685 they attacked him at Paonta and won over 500 Pathans who had been discharged from the imperial service and whom he had employed on the advice of his friend Buddhu Shah of Sadhaura. An equal number of Udasis also deserted him though they had long been fed on his bounty, and if Budhu Shah had not joined him with 2000 disciples the day would have gone against him. The Guru then left Paonta for Anandpur and founded Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Kesgarh and Fatehgarh to keep the hill states in check.⁴⁹ [1742S].

The attempt of the Delhi government to collect revenue from the hill Rajas, however led some atleast of them to change sides, for we soon find the Guru aiding them with troops to repel a force sent against them. Bhim Chand too had certainly concluded peace with the Guru, and the Bilaspur chronicles even say that in alliance with him he defied the imperial authorities at Kangra and defeated the governor Alif Khan at Nadaun,⁵⁰ but many hill Rajas joined Ghulam Husain Khan in his expedition from Lahore.⁵¹ Before he reached Anandpur, however, he was opposed by one of the hill Rajas who aided by forces sent by the Guru completely defeated him.

But in 1700 disputes arose about fuel and grass and Rajas Bhim Chand and Alam Chand with the help of the Rajas of Bilaspur and Nalagarh attacked the Sikhs in the forest, only to be completely routed. Bhim Chand⁵² then convened a council of the Rajas of Sirmur, Kangra, Daraul, Parauli, Dadwal, Srinagar (Garhwal) and other states, besides those mentioned above and they attacked Anandpur with 20,000 men, but failed to take it by siege and were dispersed. But obtaining promise of a reinforcement of 2000 men from the Mughal governor of Sirhind they treacherously attacked him again, only to meet with a second reverse, and yet they were able to compel Ajit Singh to evacuate Kiratpur. The history of this episode is obscure. The Guru was apparently on friendly terms with the Raj of Basauli and in 1701 he concluded peace with Bhim Chand once more, though he had been the

leader of the confederacy against him. Soon after the Guru visited Rawalsar in Mandi. [1557S].

Guru Govind Singh is said to have come up into the hills from Bilaspur at the end of the 17th century and went as far as Sultanpur in Kulu. There the Raja asked him to perform a miracle whereupon the Guru took hold of his own beard and drew it out to a great length, but the *Raja* in his turn breathed out a flame which consumed the Guru's beard and also had him imprisoned in an iron cage.⁵³ The Guru then caused himself to be carried through the air, cage and all to Mandi, where the reigning chief—Raja Sidh Sain, A.D. 1684-1727—received him with honour and treated him hospitably.⁵⁴ Govind Singh's journey into the hills seems to have been with the object of seeking assistance from the hill chiefs against the Muhammedans. He remained sometime at Mandi and the Raja became his disciple. On his departure he told the Raja to ask anything he might desire and it would be granted. The Raja expressed a wish that his capital might never fall into the hands of an enemy, and this promise was given in the following cryptic couplet still current in Mandi—

Mandi ko jab lutenge,
*Asmani gole chhutenga.*⁵⁵
 "When Mandi is plundered
 Heavenly shots will be fired."

Vigne who visited Mandi in 1839 says that down to that time the Sikhs had never entered the capital though the State had long been tributary to them—indeed from 1809—and for some superstitious notions connected with the above prophecy no servant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh had ever been sent to Mandi.⁵⁶ The receiver of the revenue on behalf of the Sikhs was quartered outside the town and the Maharaja's officer in attendance on Vigne did not enter it.

By some the promise is said to have been made by Banda, the follower of Guru Govind, but there is no evidence to prove that he ever visited Mandi.

Mandi continued to enjoy immunity from Sikh intrusion till 1840 when a force under General Ventura was sent into the hills under the orders of Nao Nihal Singh, grandson of Ranjit Singh. Mandi was occupied and the Raja taken by treachery and sent as a prisoner to Amritsar, where he was confined for sometime in the fort of

Govindgarh. In the following spring, soon after the accession of Maharaja Sher Singh in January 1841, the Raja was released and allowed to return to his capital.⁵⁷ General Ventura when returning to Lahore at the close of his expedition took with him the trophies of 200 hill forts—chiefly in Mandi and Kulu—including those of Kamlagarh, the famous Mandi stronghold which till then was a virgin fortress.⁵⁸

The Sirmur Gazetteer (p. 15) which is silent regarding the events of 1700-01 says that Kirat Parkash, Raja of that State from 1754-70, turned his arms against the Sikhs, taking Naraingarh, Morni Pinjaur and other tracts (from them apparently). He then entered into an alliance with Raja Amar Singh of Patiala. [1811-27S].

According to the Bilaspur chronicles Mahan Chand, Raja of that State, 1778-1824 A.D., waged war with the Rajas of Nalagarh and Kangra and the Sodhis of Anandpur, but they do not state expressly that the Sodhis were in alliance with those states.⁵⁹

An account of the latter Sikh incursions into the hills will be found in Barnes' *Kangra Settlement Report*, pp. 56-32, and one of their rule in Kulu in Sir James Lyall's *Kangra Settlement Report*, §§ 82-5. No attempt was apparently made to proselytise the hill people and to this day a Rajput is very rarely a Sikh. Nevertheless there were a few Sikh shrines in the hills at Paonta, in Sirmur, and at Haripur in Mahlog is a *gurdwara*, the see (*gaddi*) of a sect of *gurus* widely revered by Sikhs and Hindus in the lower hills and adjacent plains. This see was founded by Jawahir Singh⁶⁰, who appears to have been the great-grandson of Gangs founder of the Gangushahis (Volume II, p. 278).

Elsewhere in the hills hardly a trace of Sikhism exists. In Kangra Nanak's teachings resulted in the foundation of a shrine near Raniwal, but it differs little if at all from any other shrine in Kangra. It is called Bawa Fathu's shrine.

Three hundred years ago a Brahman of the Bhari *ilaqa* in Rawalpindi asked Bedi Bawa Parjapati for a charm, as his children had all died and vowed to give his first-born to him. The Brahman had five sons, but failed to keep his word, so two of them died. Thereupon he brought one of his sons, Fathu, to the Bedi, who kept him with him. So Bawa Fathu became a *sadhu* and people began to

pay him visits. The Brahmans of the shrine are descendants of Bawa Parjapati, a *bhagat* of Guru Nanak. The fair is held on 1st Baisakh.

In Chamba Sikhism never obtained a footing.

The first mention of the Sikhs in connection with Chamba is in the reign of Raj Singh (A.D. 1764-94), when that Raja obtained the help of the Ramgarhia Sardars against Jammu and Basohli in 1774-5. In the following year the state became tributary to Jai Singh Kanhiya and paid Rs. 4001 of tribute.⁶¹ This probably continued to be the case till 1785-6 when Jai Singh having been defeated in the plains was compelled to retire from the hills—the suzerainty of the hill states of the Kangra group passing into the hands of Sansar Chand of Kangra.⁶² Chamba came under Ranjit Singh's control in 1809, but was only once visited by a Sikh army in 1844.⁶³

Basohli was under the Sikhs in 1783 when Forster passed through it. They had probably been called in the previous year on account of the invasion of Raj Singh of Chamba in 1782, referred to by Forster.

In the inner mountain of Bhadrawah and Kashtwar Sikhism seems never to have obtained any real footing. Kashtwar was under Muhammedan rulers—who were nominally at least subject to the Durranis in Kashmir and later to Ranjit Deo of Jammu, and finally to the Rajas of Chamba, to whom the suzerainty of these states was transferred by Jammu towards the end of the 18th century.

In the outer hills from the Sutlej to the Jhelum Sikh influence began to be felt soon after the middle of the 18th century. In their conflicts with one another the hill chieftains often called in to their help one or another of the Sikh leaders, and the latter took advantage of the opportunity thus given them to establish their power in the hills. The first of these to acquire supremacy in the hills to the east of the Ravi was Jassa Singh of the Ramgarhia *misl* who had probably in the first instance been called upon for help in the way described.⁶⁴ He assisted Raj Singh of Chamba in expelling the Basohli army in 1775 and the latter state received help from another *misl*, probably that of Jai Singh Kanhiya in 1782-8.⁶⁵ In a similar manner, when a feud took place between Ranjit Deo of Jammu and his son Brijraj Deo in A.D. 1774, the former received help from the Bhangi *misl* and the latter from the Sukarchakia *misl*, the Sikhs being only mercenaries and ready

to sell their swords to the highest bidder. When they came they generally came to stay, and by the beginning of the 19th century all the states of the outer hills, except Kashtwar, had become tributary.

That the tenets of the Sikh faith took root to any extent in the hills is highly improbable, though some of the Rajas may have given a nominal adherence. Between Ranjit Singh and the hill chiefs no love was lost. They despised him as an upstart of lower status socially than themselves: and possessing no claim to their homage and allegiance. To Ranjit Singh the Rajput chiefs "were an object of special aversion, for they represented the ancient aristocracy of the country, and declined to countenance an organization in which high caste counted for nothing."⁶⁶

Among the common people, however a certain amount of veneration was developed for the personality of Nanak and his descendants called Bedis. For a long time probably the Sikhs in Chamba and possibly in other parts of the hills have been in the habit of transmitting a yearly offering in cash to one of the Sikh shrines in the plains and about 30 years ago this usage spread almost all over the state, but more especially in the Churah *wizarat* and assumed the character of a voluntary cess on the Hindu community. This cess is farmed out by some Babas or descendants of Nanak, residing in Chamba, at the rate of 4 *chaklis* (nearly an anna) in cash and one *mani* of grain (*t kachher sers*) for each household, the cash being paid to the Babas and the grain going to the collector of the cess as his remuneration.

Nanak as a saint is believed to control one of the infectious fevers, probably typhus, and the offering is meant as a propitiation to ensure protection from the disease. This belief is probably prevalent in other parts of the hills also.

In the Shimla Hills an Udasi ascetic has become a Hindu god under the name of the Dughli *deota*, whose temple is on a peak of the Darla *dhar*, a smaller range running from south-east to north-west through the centre of the State, parallel with the Bari *dhar*. A fair is held on the 1st Asauj. Dughli is the name of the place. The temple was erected over the tomb of an Udasi *faqir* of noted piety. It is a resort of Udasis, and the local people have converted the original saint into a god.⁶⁷

Guru Govind Singh.—We now come to that great historic figure, the 10th and last Guru of the Sikhs. Surrounded during his childhood by Hindu influences, Govind Rai succeeded to his office under every temptation to remain within the pale of orthodox Hinduism, and indeed one tradition asserts that his first act was to ascend to the temple of Naina Devi which stands on a precipitous hill overlooking the Sutlej. Here the Brahmans called on him to sacrifice one of his four sons to the goddess, but their mothers refused to surrender them for this object, and finally five Sikhs offered their heads. One of them was duly offered to the goddess, who promised a world-wide fame for the Guru's creed. Mythical as the story undoubtedly is, it does not do more than show that Govind Rai was in no way hostile to Hinduism at his accession. But it is not accepted as even metaphorically true by more advanced Sikh opinion. The cult of Devi is no doubt often alluded to in the Sikh writings and histories. Thus Guru Angad's father had been a devotee of Jawalamukhi, but the Guru himself was not. His successor Amar Das had been a Vaishnava, but he was a firm adherent of Nanak's teaching. Nevertheless we hear of no explicit condemnation of the cult of Devi until the time of Guru Govind Singh whose ideas were opposed by the priests. They proposed the performance of a great *homa* rite for the propitiation of Durga, so that she might appear and bless the new Khalsa sect, and they also preached the power of the goddess, persuading the Sikhs to make offerings and sacrifices to her in order to obtain invincibility. The Guru assented to the proposal in order to prove the hollowness of this cult of Devi and a peak close to Naina Devi was chosen for the rite. The recitation of hymns began in 1697 and was kept up for a whole year, the chief *pandit* constantly prophesying her advent and finally declaring that she would require the sacrifice of some holy person, hinting at the Guru's eldest son. But the Guru suggested that the *pandit's* superior sanctity qualified him as the victim. This suggestion led the *pandit* to depart, never to return, and his companions followed suit. The Guru cast all the accumulated *ghi* & c. into the great fire pit and declared that the sword he held in his hand was the Devi's symbol. She did not appear. Then the Guru feasted Brahmans, but expounded to them the brotherhood of man. Soon after the Guru, however, began to lead a life of seclusion and the masses believed that his mind had suffered by the appearance of the Devi or some such cause.⁶⁸ [1753S].

The account current in the hills of this event is characteristically different and illustrates the conflict between the teaching of the Sikh Gurus and the orthodox cult of Devi. The story goes that Guru Govind before embarking on his campaign against the Turks sought the aid of Naina Devi. He brought with him a Brahman of Benares and for months kept up the *homa*. At last the Devi appeared and the Guru, awe-stricken, presented his sword which she touched and disappeared. The Brahman, however, declared that the stigma or defect in the rite caused by the Guru's display of fear could only be removed by the sacrifice of one of his sons. To this he agreed, but the mothers of his four sons objected. So one of his followers was sacrificed, the goddess re-appeared and promised prosperity to his sect.⁶⁹

Guru Govind Singh was, however, bitterly opposed to Islam. The execution of his father called for retribution, and the Guru early instituted the *pahul* or rite of initiation whereby a chosen few⁷⁰ were admitted into a sacred brotherhood, called the Khalsa or 'pure' commonwealth of the Sikh votaries. To emphasize the change thereby effected in the initiates being the Guru altered his cognomen, whatever it might formerly have been, into Singh.⁷¹ He himself assuming the style of Govind Singh instead of Govind Rai.⁷²

Is the outward and visible sign of this initiation the Sikh was enjoined to wear the 5 K's—

the *kes* or long hair;

the *kachh* or short drawers ending above the knee;

the *kara* or iron bangle;

the *kripan* or small knife with an iron handle round which the *kes* is rolled and fastened to the head⁷³ (some authorities give instead the *khanda* or steel knife)⁷⁴;

and the *kangha* or comb.

In accord with, and in amplification of, these signs the Sikh initiate was enjoined, as one under a vow, not to cut his hair or beard,⁷⁵ or indeed to shave any part of his person.⁷⁶

He also wore blue clothes, a colour abhorrent to the Hindu,⁷⁷ though anciently worn by Balrama⁷⁸ himself. He also avoided the use of tobacco.

Lastly, the Guru enjoined ablution of the head, arms and thighs (*panjnanish*, or *panj ishnana*, i.e., washing of 5).

The first initiates of the Guru were 5 men of various different castes and hailing from distant parts of India. They were a barber of Southern India, a Khatri of the Punjab, a Kahar of Jagnanath, a Jat of Hastinapur (Delhi), a Chhipa of Dwarka in Guzerat, just, one may say, the very classes among which Sikhism has had its fewest converts.⁷⁹

The Guru also denounced 5 bodies of men, viz. (i) the Mina-Dhirmallia sectaries, (ii) the Ram Raias, (iii) the *masandias*,⁸⁰ (iv) the *kurimars*, or those who destroyed girl infants,⁸¹ and (v) the *bhaddanis*, who shaved their children's heads. The Guru also denounced certain practices, viz., the use of the *janeo*, the *karma* or belief in metempsychosis, the distinction of castes (*kelnas*), and division of classes. Their watchwords must be *Kritnash*, *Kuluash*, *dharmnash*, *karmnash*, 'For sake occupation and family, ritual and ceremonies.'⁸²

The transition for theocracy to monarchy.—Guru Govind Singh perished or disappeared in 1708, a year after Aurangzeb had died in 1707. He was succeeded as military leader, but not as Guru, of the Sikhs by Banda, the 'Slave' of the departed Guru once a Bairagi devotee but converted to the Sikh faith by the Guru's supernatural powers. But Banda was nothing more than a devoted, almost fanatical, military commander and under his leadership the political development of the Sikhs ceased. Banda's religious doctrines indeed showed Hinduizing tendencies.⁸³ His rule was, however, too short to be an enduring influence in Sikhism, for in 1716 he was captured by Abdul Samad Khan, governor of Kashmir and the Punjab, and put to death at Delhi.

The Banda Sikhs.—The regime founded by Govind Singh was however destined, even before its birth, to be profoundly affected by separatism and even schism. The principal exponent of a more violent policy than the Guru's was the famous Banda. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 was followed by dissensions among his sons. Govind Singh found a protector or atleast a sympathiser in the emperor Bahadur Shah, but he was not able or willing to restrain the activities

of Banda. This man had a curious history. By birth a Rajput⁸⁴ of Rajauri in Kashmir he had changed his name of Lachhman Bala to Narain Das at the shrine of Ram Thamman near Kasur and became a Bairagi in 1686. But in 1691 he became a Jogi and an adept in occult science⁸⁵ with the name of Madho Das. Meeting the Guru, probably at Nader,⁸⁶ he was given the title of Bahadur, with that of Banda which he had earned by his submission to the Guru, together with five arrows and other weapons. But he was not initiated with the *pahul*⁸⁷ and while imparting to him his spiritual power the Guru enjoined on him five rules according to which he was to remain strictly celibate and truthful, not to start a new sect or use a cushion in a Sikh temple, or allow himself to be styled Guru, but live in peace with the Singhs. [1788S].

Banda proceeded to wage open and relentless war on all Muhamedans and he was joined by the Singhs. He exacted vengeance for the execution of Guru Teg Bahadur and for the treachery of the Pathans of Damla. Moreover he reduced Sadhaura in spite of its adherence to the Guru⁸², and some four months before his death he destroyed Sirhind with merciless slaughter. To its province he appointed a governor and a *diwan*, organised its administration and the collection of its revenue.

This victory made many join the Khalsa, but it was not followed up atleast by Banda himself. One of his first acts was to chastise the Ram Raias of Pael⁸⁹, and then after exacting contributions from Maler Kotla and Raikot he retreated to Mukhlasgarh in the hills, renamed it Lohgarh⁹⁰ and provided it with immense stores, but he himself retired into the Joharsar hills for religious meditation. Meanwhile the Sikhs met with defeats at Tiraori and Kharar⁹¹, but were joined by Banda at Burail and a victory there enabled them to regain Sirhind, which they had lost. But he failed to take Jalalabad by siege and after defeats at Ladwa and Shahabad in 1709, Sirhind was re-occupied by the Muhammedans and the Sikhs retired to the hills. Banda had apparently again retired to Lohgarh whence he emerged for another advance on Sirhind and regained all the country lost by the Sikhs.⁹² But again his triumph was short lived for he met with a crushing reverse at Saharanpur-Buria at the hands of prince Rafi-us-shan and was driven back to Lohgarh. Thence he escaped in disguise, fleeing into the hills⁹³ and getting possession of Sirhind again but only for a

short time as in 1711 the emperor's appearance in person made him seek refuge in the hills once more. At Pathankot he had a successful encounter with the Mughals, killing Shams Khan, a *foujdar*, and Bazid Khan. The emperor issued an edict that all Hindus should shave off their beards and that all-Singhs should be indiscriminately massacred, a step which led to the slaughter of thousands of Hindus on suspicion.⁹⁴

Bahadur Shah's death in 1712 led to the usual strife amongst his sons for sovereignty and Banda took full advantage of it to occupy Sirhind again and compel the Rajas of Sirmur, Nalagarh and Bilaspur to submit formally to his allegiance. He reduced the Muhammadan *jagirdars* of Rupar, Bassi, Kiri and Bahlolpur to a similar position, and in 1714 was strong enough to hold a regal *darbar* at Amritsar, at which he appeared in royal dress with an aigrette on his head.⁹⁵ His next step was to take Gurdaspur, Pathankot and Batala, which last named town he gave up to indiscriminate pillage and massacre, beginning with its wealthiest quarter, the *muhalla* of the Qazis. These events were followed by the reluctant submission of the Kangra chiefs.

In 1713 Farrukhsiar's reign began and he promptly attacked the Sikhs on two sides, calling in a large army from Kashmir and sending picked forces from the east against them at the same time. The Sikhs rallied at Sirhind, but were compelled to fall back on Lohgarh which was besieged, until Banda sallied forth from his hill fastnesses and drove back the imperialists, thus bringing the country between Lahore and the Jumna under Sikh control. Farrukhsiar next tried to use the influence of Guru Govind Singh's widow against Banda, who was excommunicated on eight counts in that he had married, started a new creed, substituted a *charan pahul* for the Sikh *khanda pahul*, invented the war-cry of *fateh daras* (victory of faith), in lieu of the Sikh war-cry, attired himself in royal robes, styled himself the 11th Guru and claimed to rule the Sikhs, his followers being called Bandai instead of the Singhs of the Guru.⁹⁶ Banda's answer to these charges was significant. He said he was merely a Bairagi *faqir* and not the follower of Govind Singh: yet that he was merely carrying out his orders for the campaign of vengeance and the protection of the Khalsa.

This edict led to the disruption of the Sikhs, the true or Tat Khalsa holding Amritsar, while Banda went to Gurdaspur. His power lay chiefly along the Jammu border as far as Attack, but he

had adherents also in Ambala whose *faujdar* they defeated. But all his efforts at a reconciliation with the Tat Khalsa failed and in 1711 he was captured at the siege of Gurdaspur. He is generally said to have been put to death with great cruelty at Dehli, but another tradition is that by a mental process he survived his tortures and resuscitated himself. Refusing the offer of some Singhs to place themselves under his leadership he retired to Bhabbar on the Chenab in the Riasi *pargana* of Jammu where he died in 1741, leaving a son whose descendants still hold charge of his shrine.⁹⁷

Banda's relations to the Tat Khalsa are not very clear.⁹⁸ It certainly fought against him at his siege of Lahore, but generally refused to do so. It had made terms with the Mughal governors, but was certainly reluctant to join them in repressing Banda. The Imperialist attitude to the Sikhs indeed changed as soon as Banda had been captured, and the Singhs retaliated. In 1725 they proclaimed their intention of holding the Diwali fair at Amritsar, but the Bandai Sikhs, still more numerous than the Singhs, disputed the claim. It was settled by lot and most of the Bandai Sikhs went over to the Tat Khalsa, being initiated by the *khanda pahul*. Confused, desultory fighting ensued with the Imperialists, but in 1731 a Sikh force surprised their main body at Bhilowal, 20 miles from Lahore, and then Farrukhsiar weakly offered them a *jagir* of Rs. 100,000, with the title of Nawab to cease their depredations. This latter offer the Sikh leaders one and all rejected, but Kapur Singh of Faizullapur, then working hand-*pankha*, was decked in the imperial robe, and proclaimed Nawab. Whatever the truth of this story may be, Kapur Singh became a notable figure among the Sikhs. He had succeeded his father as leader of the Singhs who subsequently formed the Faizullapur *misl* in 1915, and in various battles received no less than 43 wounds. It was considered a great honour to be initiated by him and among many others Ala Singh, Raja of Patiala, and many of his relations received the *pahul* at his hands.⁹⁹ He paved the way for the Khalsa's rise to power and its transformation into a monarchy.¹⁰⁰ He appears to have designated Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as his successor in the leadership of the Khalsa.

The Singhs or their leaders however certainly accepted the Dipalpur, Kanganwal and Jhabal *parganas* in *jagir* and abandoning plunder contrived to subsist on its income. But as their numbers increased they divided in 1734 into two *dals* or armies, one called the

Budha or veteran, the other the Taru or young.¹⁰¹ The latter had five *jatthas*, companies or groups, *viz.*, the Shahids, Amritsarias (headed by Khatri of Amritsar), the Dallewalias (headed by Khatri of Dallewala) that of Baba Kahn Singh,¹⁰² and the Ramdasias (headed by Ramdasis or Mazhabi Singhs). These *dals* fought in unison, especially in the submontane tracts along the Jammu border, and the division had no religious significance.

The events of the next few years can only be very briefly touched upon. It is however necessary to hark back first for a moment to Banda's relations with the Rajput chiefs of the Kangra hills and the adjoining tracts in the north-west corner of the Punjab plains. As already described the Kangra chiefs had reluctantly submitted to him in 1714, and he had undoubtedly found allies in the hills whence he descended in that year to fall upon the country round Batala and Kalanaur, and whither he fled when imperial troops were sent against him. In 1716, however he again emerged from his strongholds, falling upon the two towns just mentioned and sacking them with much slaughter of the Muhammadans, including the famous family of Shaikh-ul-Ahmad. But some of the hill Rajas sided with the Mughal governors, for Abdul Samad Daler-jang, governor of Lahore, set out in pursuit of him assisted not only by the *hakims* of Eminabad, Pasrur, Patti and Kalanaur but also by Raja Bhim Singh of Katoch and Dhruva Deva of Jasrota.¹⁰³

But Nadir Shah's invasion in 1738-9 appears to have led indirectly to a general combination between the Mughal governors and the Hill Rajas to put down the Sikhs, although they had fiercely assailed the invader on his retreat. The Sikhs had seized the opportunity allowed them by the confusion created by the invasion to plunder Muhammedan villages and Nawab Kapur Singh had refused to join Nawab Zakaria Khan, governor of Lahore, in resisting them. A demand for restitution of half the booty wrested from Nadir Shah was rejected by the Sikhs and this exposed them to the enmity of Hindus as well as Muhammedans. After Ahmad Shah's invasion of 1748 a proclamation issued for their extermination. About 15,900 Sikhs had collected in the dense jungle of Kahnawan which Lakhpat Rai, Khatri, chief minister to the governor at Lahore, invested. His blockade lasted three months and when the Sikhs had exhausted their ammunition they

tried to cut their way out towards the hills through Pathankot, only to find the passes all blocked by the Hill Rajas under orders from the governor of Lahore.¹⁰⁴ Finally they broke through towards the south and directed their course towards the Malwa. This fight was known as the Chhota Ghallughara. Again in 1756 when Adina Beg, governor of Lahore,¹⁰⁵ fled before Ahmad Shah's invasion of that year he sought protection under the Hill Rajas.¹⁰⁶ [185S. 1813S].

After Banda's execution the Sikhs waged implacable war against the Muhammadans, but made no attempt to establish an organised government. In 1748, Cunningham states, the *dal* of the Khalsa, 'the army of the elect,' was proclaimed by Jassa Singh Kalal, one of their ablest leaders and head of the Ahluwalia *misl*,¹⁰⁷ and a few years later he struck coins in the Mughal mint at Lahore with the legend: "Coined by the grace of the Khalsa in the country of Ahmad, conquered by Jassa the Kalal."¹⁰⁸ In 1761 when Ahmad Shah retired from the Punjab after his great victory at Panipat, Jassa Singh attacked him while he was crossing the Bias and released about 22,000 Hindu captives, male and female.¹⁰⁹ For this feat he was popularly known as Bandichhor or 'the liberator.' He also occupied Lahore. But the Sikhs had to cope with internal dissensions, for about this time the *mahant*, who was Hindal's successor at his shrine in Jandiala, turned against the Singhs and tampered with Nanak's biography. He had destroyed hundreds of innocent Singhs and now called in the aid of the Abdali whose forces in 1762 raised the siege of Jandiala which the Sikhs abandoned, concentrating at the siege of Sirhind which they would probably have taken in that year but for the advance of the Shah's forces, allied to the Muhammadan chiefs of Maler Kotla Baroch and other places.¹¹⁰ Their great defeat at the hands of the Abdali near Hathur—the *vada ghallu ghara* or great defeat—followed in the same year. [A.D. 1758-8].

Nevertheless in 1763 the Sikhs took Sirhind, sacked and destroyed it. This event virtually decided the fate of the Punjab proper as far as the Abdalis were concerned, and the generally received account is that in 1762 Ala Singh of Patiala received the first title of Raja ever bestowed on a sikh chieftain,¹¹¹ and, though no coins of his appear to be extant he seems to have minted rupees in 1763 or two years before his death which occurred in 1765.¹¹² The Sikh policy was radically changed from that time. The Phulkian chiefs became sovereigns in their own states. Tradition indeed describes how after

their victory at Sirhind in 1763 "the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won, and how riding day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages, to mark them as his." This description may well have been true of their earlier conquests, but the old Mughal province of Sirhind was partitioned in a much more systematic way.

In 1764 the Sikh chiefs assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed their supremacy and struck the Nanakshahi or Govindshahi rupee which bore the inscription:

Deg wa Teg wa Fatah nusrat be drang,

Yaft az Nanak Guru Govind Singh.

"Guru Govind Singh received from Nanak,

The Sword, the Bowl and Victory unfailing.¹¹³

This inscription was adhered to in the main by later Sikh chiefs, including Ranjit Singh, though petty chiefs occasionally inserted the emperor's name.¹¹⁴ It was also retained by Nabha, but never adopted by the other two Phulkian States.

From time to time attempts were made to restore the Sikh theocracy, under representatives of the sacred Khatri families. For instance in 1800 Sahib Singh Bedi, a descendant of Baba Nanak, 'pretended to religious inspiration,' collected a large force, invested Ludhiana, took Maler Kotla and 'called on George Thomas to obey him as the true representative of the Sikh prophet.'¹¹⁵ But the time had gone by for militant religious leaders and the Bedi soon retired north of the Sutlej.

THE SIKH REGIME

The Sikh government was a curious mixture of theocracy democracy and absolutism. At its head stood the Guru, and in later times the Maharaja. Below them was the Gurumatta or council of the Guru which was in theory convened in any emergency. Of its precise constitution little is known, but it included the Sikh chiefs and was held at Amritsar. It was convened by the Akalis (or according to other authorities by the *granthis*), and was, like them, established by the 10th or last Guru Govind Singh,¹¹⁶ its last meeting being held in 1805

when the British drove Holkar to seek an asylum in the Punjab. Its main function, or one of its chief functions, was to choose a leader of the Khalsa armies, but on occasion it acted as a judicial body, deciding a case of disputed succession. Its meetings were conducted with religious solemnity. When the members were seated the holy books were placed before them and to these they bowed with the customary exclamations: '*Wah Guruji ka Khalsa! Wah Guruji ki fateh.*' One account has it that cakes of wheat, butter and sugar were placed upon the volumes and covered with a cloth. After they had received the salutations of the assembly its members rose, the *granthis* or Akalis prayed, and music was performed.¹¹⁷

When the prayers were finished the *granthis* bade the assembly be seated, and the cakes were uncovered, to be eaten by all, whether Hindu or Muhammedan, high or low, as a token of union in a common cause. The Akalis then proclaimed: 'Sirdars! This is a Gurumatta,' where-upon prayers were again said aloud. The chiefs then swore on the *Granth* to lay aside all feuds, and proceeded to the business of the assembly.¹¹⁸ After this council ceased to meet the Akalis lost much of their influence.

After the Gurumatta had ceased to meet the army gradually came to be the representative assembly of the Sikhs, and it in turn was represented by a committee or assemblage of committees, termed *panch* or *panchayat*, i.e. a jury or committee of five, composed of men selected from each battalion, or each company, in consideration of their general character as faithful Sikh soldiers, or from their particular influence in their native villages.¹¹⁹ Under this system, rude as it was, the relation of the Sikh army to the State had wholly changed: it was no longer the willing instrument of the Government, but looked upon itself and was regarded by others as the Khalsa itself assembled by tribes or centuries to take its part in public affairs. Even in the crude form of representation thus achieved, the Sikh people were enabled to interfere with effect, and with some degree of consistency, in the nomination and removal of their rulers, but in this large assemblage military license was sometimes added to the popular tumult, and the corrupt spirit of mercenaries to the barbarous ignorance of ploughmen.

The head of the Khalsa exercised both spiritual and temporal authority, and this office devolved by appointment, not by natural

descent, until the demise of the 10th and last Guru. Thus Baba Nanak bequeathed his spiritual office to Lehna, a Trihun Khatri, who took the title and name of Guru Angad. His two sons were not even initiated as Sikhs and his office descended to Amar Das, a Bhalla Khatri, who had served him in the capacity of a water-carrier. Amar Das left a daughter, on whose husband Ram Das, a Sodhi Khatri, he bestowed the *barkat* or apostolic virtue, as a reward for her filial love and obedience. It is also said that Ram Das' wife obtained from Guru Amar Das a promise that the sacred office should remain with her posterity. However, this may be, the fatal principle that spiritual sanctity follows natural descent was now introduced and Arjan Dev, Ram Das' eldest son, succeeded his father. Under him the customary offerings of the Sikh converts or adherents were reduced to a systematic tax, and the first attempts at regular administration were made. On his death his brother Pirthi Chand aspired to the succession, but his son Har Govind, although only a boy of eleven, was acknowledged as Guru.¹²⁰ Har Govind was succeeded by his grandson, Har Rai, the younger son of his elder son, Gurditta.¹²¹

Har Rai also left two sons—Ram Rai, the offspring of a hand-maiden and Har Kishen. The latter was duly acknowledged, but died in childhood, and the succession passed to Teg Bahadur, the third son of Har Govind. From him it descended to his only son Govind, the tenth and last of the Gurus. But on his death in 1708 the line of the Gurus came to an end, for, in anticipation of his death, after he had been mortally wounded by one of Painsa Khan's two sons, he appointed the *Granth Sahib* as his successor, with the customary rites of a Guru's installation, and entrusted his Khalsa to the bosom of the everlasting. Divine, declaring that the appointed ten had accomplished their mission.¹²²

Guru Govind organised the Sikhs as a militant democracy. He instituted the *pahul*,¹²³ a rite of initiation, on the one hand: on the other requiring his followers to break the Brahminical thread: and this rite was far from being merely religious.

The initiated Sikhs (*pahulias* or Singhs) formed the Khalsa,¹²⁴ the 'chosen' or 'elect,' the commonwealth or state of the Guru and year by year the *sarwat Khalsa* or whole Sikh people met once atleast at Amritsar during the Dasehra.¹²⁴

This commonwealth was organised into a number of *misls* or confederacies.¹²⁶

These confederacies were loosely organised and varied from time to time in power, and even in designation. They are usually recorded to twelve in number, but more correctly as eight, supplemented by four *dehras* or camps.

The following were the Sikh *misls*, and the castes from which they were, atleast mainly, recruited—

No.	Name	Caste	Capital	Possessions allotted in 1759
I	The Bhangis, so called because they were addicted to hemp (<i>bhang</i>).	Jats	Amritsar	Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Gujarat, Wazirabad, Sialkot and Chiniot.
II	Nishanias, or standard-bearers, from <i>nishan</i> , a standard.	Khatri and Rangrethas ¹²⁷ or converted sweepers.	Ambala	...
III	Ramgarhias, from Ramgarh, a village near Amritsar.	Tokhas or Bharais (carpenters) and Jats.	Sri Hergovindpur.	Hargovindpur, Batala and Jukerian <i>parganas</i> on the Bias.
IV	Ahluwalia, from Ahlu, a village near Lahore.	Kalals	Kapurthala	Nurmahal, Talwandi, Phagwara, Kana Dhillon, and Hariana.
V	Kanhia or Ghania, from Ghani, a village near Lahore.	...	Sohian	Ajnala, Sohiau, Nag, Surdaspur, Dehra Baba Nanak, kalanaur, Pathankot and Sujampur.
VI	Faizullapurin, or Singhpuria.	Jats	Jullundur	Jullundur Haibatpur Patti, etc.
VII	Sukr-Chakia	Jats	Gujranwala	Gujranwala, Kunja, etc.
VIII	Dallawalia ¹²⁸	Jats	Rahon	Nakodar, Talban, Badala, Rahon, Phillaur, etc.

The four dehras

No.	Name	Caste	Capital	Possessions allotted in 1759
I	Shahids, or 'martyrs' ¹²⁹	Jats	Shahzadpur	...
II	Nakkais ¹³⁰ , from Nakka	Jats	Chunian	Chunian, Bahrwal, Khem Karn, Khudian, etc.
III	Panjarhias or Krora-Singhias, who were divided into (a) Sham-Singhan and (b) Kalsias, the latter being further subdivided into Land-pindian and Barapindian or Birk and Jahalian. ¹³¹	...	Bhunga	The Karoris got Nawashahr, Burka, Bassisn Pindorian, Hoshiarpur, Bhangs and Kathgarh.
V	Phulkian	...	Patiala Nabha &c.	...

Territorial divisions.—The Sikhs formed several territorial groups. The two principal divisions were, and still are, the Manjhi and Malwai. The former derived its name from the Manjha or 'mid land' and originally included all the Sikhs north of the Sutlej, while the term Malwai was applied to all south of that river, though the Malwa only includes the tract which lies between Sirhind and Sirsa. But besides these two divisions minor groups were distinguished. The Sikhs settled in the Sindh Sagar Doab were known as Dhanigheb Singh, and those in the Chinhat Doab as Gujarat Singh. Those of the Rachna Doab were designated Dharpi Singh, the term Manjhi being sometimes confined to the Sikhs of the Manjha proper. The Sikhs in the Jullundur Doab were known as Doaba Singhs, and those of the country south of the Sutlej as Malwa Singhs.¹³²

Taxation.—From the tracts of country which the Sikhs subdued but could not hold, they exacted *rakhi* or the price of 'protection.' This tribute was regularly levied and varied in amount from a fifth to a half of the revenue or government share of the produce.¹³³

The Sikh military resources.—The great mass of Sikhs were horsemen and speedily became famous for their effective use of the matchlock when mounted. Infantry was used almost solely to garrison forts, and cannon, among the early Sikhs, was unknown. Very varying

estimates were formed of their numbers. In 1783 Forster estimated them at 200,000, but others put them at 300,000 men! Browne reckoned them at 73,000 horse and 25,000 foot. Twenty years later Franklin declared they mustered 248,000 cavalry, but, apparently on George Thomas' authority, subsequently reduced their effective strength to 64,000, within 1800, only 40 field guns.

In later times the Sikhs enlisted Muhammedans in their light cavalry and they were called *gurcharas*.

Sikh quoits.—According to Osborne the quoit is an arm peculiar to the Akalis. It is a steel ring, 6" to 9" in diameter, and about 1" in breadth, very thin and with its edges ground very sharp. The Akalis are said to be able to lop off a limb at 60 or 80 yards distance, but Osborne had a poor opinion of their skill.

Rosaries.—The Sikh rosaries are—

All Sikhs	...	<i>lohe ki mala</i> , of iron beads.
Nanakpanthis	...	<i>sphatik</i> , white crystal.
Kukas	...	<i>un ki mala</i> , black (and white) beads of wool.

Sikhs also use a rosary of 27 beads and a head bead, black and made of iron.¹³⁴

Sikhism in art.—In art Sikhism cannot claim an exalted place. The Sikhs had indeed begun to counteract some of the tendencies of the later Muhammedan style. The Sikh wood-carving was their most characteristic medium. It is distinguished by elaborately lined and twisted foliage, with small grotesque figures of men and animals, but it retained the late Mughal pillar, pilaster and *mihrab*, with flatness of relief, absence of under-cutting, a free use of geometric diapers, incised in line merely, in relief or in framed lattice-work.¹³⁵

The following notes supplement the account of the Akalis (Vol. II, p. 9) and that of the Nirmalas (III, p. 172)—

The Bibeki Akalis.—The strictest of the Akalis acquired the title of Bibeki (from a Sanskrit word 'meaning discrimination') or 'the conscientious' and engrafted on their own creed all the prejudices of Hinduism. With the Vaishnavas they would not eat meat or any article of food or drink not prepared with their own hands. The such an

extreme was this rule pushed that they would not taste food cooked by their wives, eat fruit bought in the market or drink water which they themselves had not drawn from the well. They considered it a sin to eat bare-headed and would pay a fine to the temple if they did so inadvertently. They did not remove the hair from any part of their persons and in lieu of the Hindu *janeo* wore a sword. They were very strict in wearing the 5 *Ks.* and will not drink water without immersing in it a knife or dagger. They added the word *singh* as an affix to all substantives and sometimes the other parts of speech, and they transposed all feminine nouns into the masculine gender. Thus, they would say: 'place the inkstand *singh* on the table *singh*,' and *kanghi* a comb became *kangha*.

Some Akalis call themselves Nihangs, from *nihang* 'a crocodile.' Their high-peaked turbans are said to have earned them this title from Guru Govind Singh, but another version has it that during one of Zaman Shah's marauding inroads they donned the high-peaked turbans of the Turki soldiers and so disguised attacked his force at night and destroyed it. Yet a third account is that the lofty turban or *dumbala* ('high-tailed') was not adopted by them till Ranjit Singh's time when the example of Bholā Singh, a gigantic Akali whose height was enhanced by his high-peaked turban, induced them to adopt a similar head gear.¹³⁶

Authorities differ as to the origin of the blue dress. It is said to have been adopted in imitation of Guru Govind Singh who escaped by donning the blue garb of a Muhammedan pilgrim to Mecca and personating a priest of Uch when he was driven from chamkaur and pursued into the wastes round Bhathinda.

According to Macauliffe¹³⁷ the Nirmalas do not deem the *pahul* or rite of initiation of vital importance though they are baptised Sikhs. Many do not wear long hair and for the *kachh* they substitute the loosely tied *langota* or loin-cloth of the Hindu *faqir*. Above all they wear the ochre-coloured *bhagwa*, a colour forbidden to all true followers of Guru Govind Singh

Some account of the Sanwal-shahis, an offshoot of the Sikhs, will be found in Volume III, page 380 *infra*. The conjecture put forward in the Punjab *Census Report*, 1902 (page 135), that they are identical

with the Chawal-shahis appears correct, since their founder Soman was an Arora of the Chawala section. The title of Shah was bestowed on him by Guru Arjan as a reward for his zeal in helping to construct the Hari-mandar tank at Amritsar. To its cost he devoted his income. His descendants continued to serve the Gurus, and when the tenth Guru gave *amrit* to his disciples Mihar Shah, a descendant of Soman Shah, was allowed to take it also. Hence, the Guru added the title of Singh to that of Shah and his descendants still bear the double title. The Guru also conferred on him the right to levy *sikhi*¹³⁸ in Sindh, etc. and made him Guru of those parts of India. He also bestowed on him 5 gifts, *viz.* a writ of appointment, a copy of the *Granth* in his own handwriting, a drum, a hammer and 5 *sers* of *khichri*. He was enjoined: (1) to keep alive the memory of *kal* (death) and *Akal* (God), (2) to propagate religion and take peaceful measures for the public weal, (3) to rise in the last watch of the night in order to show humility by worshipping God, (4) to maintain the Guru's *langar*, (5) to lead people to the right path; and (6) to cherish a sincere belief in the *bachans* (sayings) and *banis* (hymns) composed by the Guru. Many people of all castes, Brahmans, Acharajs, Bhats, Khatris and other Hindus became his disciples. His followers are to this day found in Kabul, Kandahar, Khost, Bangash and Dawar, as well as all over the Western Punjab. They pay an annual *nazrana* as well as dues at marriages and deaths.

Mihar Shah Singh's son, Gharib Shah Singh, followed in his father's footsteps. Of his three sons, Himmat Shah Singh, Samran Shah Singh and Sanwal Shah Singh, the eldest had a son Sundar Shah Singh, whose descendants, found in Isa Khel, Lakhi and Bannu, are known as Sundar Shahias. The descendants of the other two sons are found in Bhakkar and Dera Ismail Khan. Of them one family went to tahsil Rangpur and one to Odo-Sultan in Jhang. The Sanwalshahis must not be confused with the Bhai Khel, who are not Chawalas but Hojas. They collect *nazrana* in the Western Punjab and pay a fixed contribution to the Gurus of Guru Kot and Har Sahai in Ferozpur but do not act as their agents, and if they cease to pay their quota they cease also to collect *nazrana*. All affect the title of Singh, whether they wear the *kes* or not. The Chawala Sanwal-shahis take brides from the Utradha Aroras and give them to be Bhai Khel and others.

SOME SIKH SHRINES

The principal Sikh shrines are at Amritsar and in the Gurdaspur District. A description of them here would require too much space, but a few notes on the lesser shrines in Gurdaspur and elsewhere may be of interest.

In Gurdaspur the *mandir* at Dehra Baba Nanak is visited by Sikhs on the Baisakhi, on the *puranmashi* in Katik, the Diwali, and from 21st to 23rd Phagan when the Chola Sahib ceremony is observed. Built in 1744 S. the *mandir* contains the tomb of Guru Nanak. Its affairs are managed by an Udasi *mahant* who is celibate and succession is governed by spiritual descent. A *bhog of karah parshad* is offered every morning and on fast days milk is offered as such.

At the Tahli Sahib *mandir* no fair is held. Baba Sri Chand is said to have cleaned his teeth here with a *datan* (toothbrush) and to have planted it in the ground. From it sprang the *tahli* tree, after which the temple is named. Portraits of Guru Nanak and his son Baba Sri Chand are painted on its walls. Its affairs are managed by an Udasi *mahant* who is also celibate. Food cooked in the temple is offered to the *Granth*. Another Tahli Sahib has a similar origin. It also is in charge of an Udasi *mahant*.

At the *mandir* of Sri Chola Sahib annual fairs are held on the *puranmashi* in Katak, Baisakhi, Diwali and on 21st, 22nd and 23rd Phagan. It is called after the Chola Sahib or gown preserved in it. Founded in 1941 S. it contains a *Granth* and its affairs are managed by Bawas, but its *pujari* is a Bedi who is not celibate and succession is governed by natural relationship.

Connected with this are some smaller temples in the town—all managed by the *mahant*. Another Sri Chola *mandir* is visited on 21st, 22nd and 23rd Phagan. Founded in 1947 S. it contains nothing but the *chola*. Its *pujari* is a Bedi who is not celibate. A *bhog* of flowers is offered in the morning.

A shrine of peculiar interest is the mosque (*masjid*) of Guru Har Gobind Sahib. No fair is held here. An adversary of this Guru in the service of Shahjehan complained to the emperor that the Guru was biased against the Muhammedans, whereupon the emperor held an enquiry. The officers entrusted with it came to the Guru and found

him building this mosque, but the precise year of its foundation is not known. Its affairs are managed by one Sain Pohu Shah, a Qureshi. The Imam is held in respect both by the Hindus and Muhammedans.

At the *mandir* of Manji Mata Sahib no fair is held. It is said that the mother (*mata*) of Guru Bhag Singh, a descendant of Dhir Mal, performed her devotions on a bed where the present temple stands. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains the Manji Sahib or bedstead. Its *pujari* is a Brahman, appointed by the Guru of Kartarpur. It is connected with the chief *mandir* in Kartarpur.

At the Damdama Sahib *mandir* a monthly fair is held every *puranmashi*, and once a year on the Baisakhi.

Guru Har Gobind used to walk along the bank of the Beas to practise archery. After his death it was revealed in a vision to Bhai Kahn Singh that the point of an arrow once shot had stuck in the *tharra* or platform which formed the Guru's seat. He was also directed to build the *mandir*. Founded in 1855 S., it contains no image, but a *Granth* is kept in a *baradari*. Its affairs are managed by an Udasi *sadhu*. A *bhog* of *karah parshad* is offered to the *Granth*, a sacred lamp is kept lit and fire burning at all times.

The history of the Darbar Sahib in Nichla Kalan in Batala tahsil, a *gurdwara* at which 4 fairs are held, on the Baisakhi, during the *shradhs*, on Magh 1st and the *Anawas* of each month, is obscure. An old man, it is said, had been given the power to work miracles by Guru Nanak. He lived in the village of Ram Das. After his death, one Sahib Ram Kaur, seventh in descent from him and blessed with the same gift, was installed on the *gaddi*. But of his four sons, Kishen Kaur, Mohar Singh, Anup Singh and Jawabir Singh, only Mohar Singh succeeded him. He was on bad terms with his brothers, and so once when Sahib Ram Kaur and Anup Singh went out shooting they found themselves shut out of the temple on their return. By the advice of the neighbouring villagers they took possession of land in Nicha Kalan where after Anup Singh's death a *samadh* of brick was built—nearly 200 years ago.

At the *mandir* of the Darbar Sahib in Dera Baba Nanak fairs are held on the *shankrant* or 1st of every Hindu month, and also on the *puranmashi*. Guru Nanak's wedding was celebrated here in the light half of Bhadon in 1548 S. His father-in-law was Mula, a Khatri.

and this *mandir* was erected in commemoration of the marriage. Maharaja Sher Singh began the masonry building but it was not complete till after his death, according to the *janamsakhi*. The *Granth Sahib* reposes in its centre. On all four sides are rooms for *parkarman* or circumambulation. On its walls are picture of the ten Gurus. Its manager is an Arora of Batala, and his duties are to recite the *Granth* and look after the *mandir*. The *mantras* for worship are *shaods* or hymns from the *Sukhmani* and *Granth Sahibs*. Hindus and Sikhs offer cash, grain, clothes, etc. At 9 a.m. *kacha bhojan* or *bhog* is offered. A *bhog of karah* is offered on the *sankrant*, *amawas* and *puranmashi*, i.e. on the new and full moon days of each month. During the night lamps are lit. The masonry *thara* on which the wedding party of Guru Nanak rested is much respected by the people.

The Darbar Sahib fair at Barbata village is held on the Baisakhi. Bawa Sri Chand, its founder, came here to meditate on God. The *Granth* reposes on a Manji Sahib. The *pujari* is a Sarsut Brahman and recites the *Granth* daily. He also feeds all travellers lodging in the *mandir*. A *bhog* of food prepared in the morning or *karah parshad* offered by votaries is first laid before the *Granth Sahib* and then distributed among those present.

A curious feature of the Patti Sahib at Lahore, which includes a number of buildings in a walled enclosure, is the fact that a *samadh* of Nag *deota* is found in it side by side with one of Bawa Sri Chand, and another or Kubha Diwan, the hump-backed accountant of Ranjit Singh, to which no sanctity seems to attach.

The Guru *Sar* or 'tank of the Guru' at Khosa Kotla, in Zira tahsil, Ferozepur, lies near the village where the Manji Sahib of the 6th Guru, Har Gobind, is kept. It was founded nearly 100 years ago. An Udasi *sadhu* is in charge and a fair is held on the Maghi festival. Visitors, both men and women, dig earth from the tank and make offerings of grain, *gur*, milk, cash, etc., all of which the *sadhu* takes to the Manji Sahib before which they bow. *Karah parshad* or confection is distributed among them. Earth is also dug from a *chhappar* or pond of Baba Andehr, but no fair is held at it.

The *sthan* or sanctuary of Guru Har Govind in Sanir village is also called Guru Sar. A fair is held there at the Maghi and Baisakhi when the *Granth* is opened and read, Sikhs paying it special reverence

and making offerings to it. The temple was founded nearly 150 years ago. Its *pujari* is a Sodhi. The *Granth* is opened on the 1st of every Hindu month and verses recited. At the *gurdwara* situate at Takhtupura an annual fair is held on the 12th January. Most of the visitors are Sikhs who bathe and make offerings to the temple. The village was founded by one Takhtu. Baba Nanak is said to have honoured it with his presence, and so did Gurus Har Gobind and Gobind Singh. The tank near the temple was made by Ranjit Singh, and some small *gurdwaras* are attached to it. It is in charge of an Udasi.

The *mandir* at Daroli in tahsil Moga is called Mata Damodari, and two annual fairs are held at it, one on the Lohri, the other on the Baisakhi. Mata Damodari was a goddess and a disciple of Guru Har Gobind, and her tomb lies near the *mandir*. This temple was built in S. 1710. No Brahman is employed as the *pujari* is always a Sikh. He keeps the *mandir* clean, washes the *chabutra* or platform in the morning and lights a sacred lamp in the evening. Lastly a drum is beaten. At a *mattri* near the *mandir* a lamp is lit every evening. The *mattri* is also washed in the morning. The temple at Sirai Mangha in tahsil Muktsar is known as Guru Nanak *ji ka gurudwara* and a fair is held there on the Baisakhi. While touring through the country, Guru Nanak came to this place and while resting on a mound used a *datan* or toothbrush which he thrust into the ground. It grew into a tree which still thrives. Some 65 years ago one Bhai Bala raised a wall round the *mandir*. The *mandir* contains no image, but only a stone with Guru Nanak's foot-print on it. Its administration is carried on by the Bhai's descendants and they employ an Udasi, who keeps it clean, lights a lamp in the evening, and gives food and water to travellers from the *langar*. The servants of the *mandir* had always been *sadhus*, and succession and been governed by spiritual relationship until the death of Bhai Bilu whose natural descendants succeeded him as he left no disciple. At the fair the *Granth* is recited and *karah parshad* offered as *bhog* to it. Visitors make offerings and receive *karah parshad* which they deem sacred. A lamp is always kept burning and Hindus also make offerings to the *Granth*.

The *mat* or monastery of Guru Angad is at his birthplace and people makes vows and offerings to it if their prayers are fulfilled. The *pujaris* take all the offerings. No lamp is kept burning.

The Gurdwara known as the Sri Darbar Sahib is the scene of a fair held from the 1st to the 3rd of Magh every year. It is so called because when Guru Gobind Singh fled before the Mughal army he took shelter here and recited the *Granth* on May 17th, 1767. Ever since then the fair has been celebrated. In olden times the tank here was called Ishar or Khandrana, but after the battle in which his followers fell and received *mukt* or salvation it was named Mukatsar or the 'pool of salvation.'

The *mandir* was founded in 1718, and was built by Sardar Udhe Singh of Kaithal. The Darbar Sahib contains a sword, disc, etc. Its administration is carried on by a Bhandari Khatri, and by the 11 members of the Darbar Sahib.

Two of them are attached to the *mandir* to supply water and prepare and distribute food. The manager is responsible for all the expenditure. The members meet at night in the temple after the *rah-i-ras* or evening prayer, and before the distribution of food, some 10 loaves with pulse are offered to the *Granth*, a conch being sounded to inform those present in the temple that the food is ready. It is then brought out and distributed among them and they receive the loaves which are believed to be sacred. All that remain are taken to the *langar*. Offerings are made by Hindus in general as well as by Sikhs.

Other temples connected with this are—the Shahid Ganj, Tibbi Sahib, Mukh-manjan Sahib and Tambu Sahib. The Shahid Ganj is where Guru Gobind Singh's followers were slain and burnt. The Tibbi Sahib is where he fought the enemy. This sanctuary lies a mile to the west of the Darbar Sahib. From it the Guru went to the waste lands, west of the Tibbi Sahib, which are called the Mukh-manjan Sahib, because the Guru cleaned his teeth there. The Tambu Sahib is so called Guru Gobind Singh pitched his tent there. It was founded by Maharaja Karm Singh, Chief of Patiala, in 1900.

The *mandir* in Guru Har Sahai is called 'Pothi-Mala.' No fair is held here, but the Baisakhi is observed as a fair. It is so called because it contains a *pothi* or religious book and a *mala* or rosary said to have belonged to Guru Nanak, and its foundation dates from his time. They are kept by the Guru's descendants, who hold charge of the temple, in the house believed to have been occupied by him. Ten years ago a new building was constructed and the *mala* and *pothi*

brought from Chunian and placed therein. The *gaddi* is always occupied by the eldest son of the family. When people come to do homage to these relies the *pujari* bathes and dons the *topi*, *chola*, etc., which were worn by Guru Nanak. He then displays the *pothi* and *mala*, provided a *nazrana* of Rs. 101 is laid before them. *Karah parshad* is offered daily as *bhog*.

When votaries in distant places, such as Bannu, Kohat, Peshawar, Hazara and Kabul, dedicate offerings to Guru Nanak at weddings, etc. they are sent to this temple.

The temple at Chunian in Lahore is connected with this *mandir*, and it is held by a member of the same family. An ordinary fair is held there on the Baisakhi.

At the *samadh* of Bhai Sarup Das at Bagahke, a fair is held on the Baisakhi. Some 50 years ago the corpse of Bhai Sarup Das was burnt at this spot, where his disciple Puran Das built a *samadh* in 1921. The administration of the *mandir* vests in Bhai Sahib Das, a disciple of the late Puran Das. But an Udasi disciple, who is employed in the *mandir*, lives in a separate house near the well attached to the main temple which he keeps clean and in which he lights a lamp. Only the Bairagi *sadhu*, however officiates in the temple, and he receives all the offerings with a fee of Re. 1-4-0 at every wedding. On the Baisakhi *karah parshad* is offered as *bhog* and then distributed among those present. A lamp is always kept burning in the temple. All Hindus make offerings according to their means.

At the temple called Gupt Sar a fair is held on the Baisakhi. When Guru Gobind Singh during his war with the Muhammedans reached this place his soldiers demanded their pay and he found a hidden treasure in a tank most of which he distributed to them. The balance, it is said, disappeared at the same spot. Hence the tank came to be called the Gupt Sar or 'tank of the hidden store.' The temple possesses a *chakkar* (disc) and *jhanda* (banner). No Brahman is employed, but a lamp is kept burning and Hindus make offerings to it. Cash collected is spent on the up-keep of the *mandir*.

At the Gurudwara in Ropana no fair is held. The people gather there on the Baisakhi and offer *karah parshad*. Guru Gobind Singh threw away his used *datan* or toothbrush here and it turned into a green

tree, a miracle which caused people to worship the place. In the temple are deposited a *chakkar*, *nishan* (standard) and other weapons. Its administration is carried on by the present *pujari*, a Jai. No Brahman is employed. It rests with the residents of the village to employ any person whom they deem fit. It is said that once a Sikh Guru visited this place, and after his departure it was held sacred by the Hindus and Sikhs who bathe in the pond. The use of *charas* and *bhog* is not common. A lamp is lighted at the temple.

At the *mandir* called Faqir Sar in Muktsar tahsil an annual fair is held.

At a pond in Bhondar village a fair is held annually at the Baisakhi. As Guru Gobind Singh's horse drank water from it people bathe in it every year, but no building is attached to it. Formerly a *faqir* used to live at the pond but after his death some 12 years ago, people simply collect on the day of the fair to pay homage to the pond and play *saunchi*.

At the *mandir* of Guru Gobind Singh at Haripur near Abohar, two fairs are held, one on the *puranmashi* in Katak, the other on the *Chetar chaudas* in Chet. About 800 persons, Bagri Jats, etc. attend them. Charn Das took up his abode in Haripur in S. 1927, and founded the temple in Sawan S. 1933. When the people of the Bagar began to worship the *mandir* he sank a well for drinking water. When he had got 1½ yards down, an iron box was found in which were an image of Narsingh, an iron disc, a footprint of Guru Nanak on a stone, an iron rod, a sword, a closed book, etc. The image of Narsingh is carved on a stone slab. These things were sent to Mr. Wakefield, then Deputy Commissioner of Sirsa, but they were brought back and placed in the *mandir*. Since then Hindus frequent it to see the relics. The footprint on the stone is regarded as that of Guru Nanak and a hand print on the other side is supposed to be that of one Kirpal Udasi. The administration of the *mandir* is carried on by one Charn Das. Its income from offerings is estimated at Rs. 125, excluding Rs. 7, the value of the grain offered, which is divided equally between Charn Das and the Bishnoi *faqirs*. The former keeps the *mandir* clean and burns incense twice a day. *Karah parshad* is distributed among those present. The fair is patronized by Jats Aroras, Sikhs, Bagris and Bishnois. It only lasts one day.

At the Guru Sar in Bazidpur, tahsil Ferozepur, a fair is hold on the *Basant panchmi*. Guru Gobind Singh rested here for a short time, so the place was held sacred. In the time of Ranjit Singh a *faqir* constructed a *gurudwara*. At the fair the Faridkot State supplies 50 *mans* of grain and one of salt for the requirements of visitor who are all fed free. Bawa Sidha Das *faqir*, a Chhimba, lives in the temple and recites the *Granth* in the morning. Disciple succeeds *guru*. A kettle-drum is beaten at night. *Charas* is not used nor is there any rite of *bhog*. Lamps are lit in the evening. The *gurudwara* in Sayyidpur in connected with this.

In Ludhiana the Bhai Bala fair is held on the 10th *sudi* of Magh in the waste land of Dad. Bhai Bala was a disciple of Guru Nanak and at his *samadh* here about 10,000 people from the neighbourhood visit the fair. Hindus offer grain cash, etc. which are taken by Masand Khatris of Kudhani in Patiala. People also bring curds made the previous night, and after being presented to the shrine. They are distributed and eaten. There is also a pond here, and people attending the fair consider it a religious duty to dig out of it seven handfuls of earth with their hands.

A temple in Kangra is—

Mandir Dera Baba Nanak Baba Nanak is said to have stayed here for a while and wrought miracles. The temple contains a stone on which his foot-print is marked. Its length is a cubit and breadth a foot. It stands on a pedestal. A flag is also planted on one side of it. Near it is the tomb of Bawa Mehr Das, one of the Bilaspur chiefs.	Udasi	None	Food cooked by the <i>pujari</i> is offered as <i>bhog</i> , but on the first day of every month <i>halwa</i> or confection is prepared and offered to the <i>Granth</i> . A sacred lamp is lit daily.
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THE PHILOSOPHY OF SIKHISM

A Sikh gentleman contributes the following instructive note on Sikh ideals—

The Guru observed.—‘All men are suffering in one way or another; the source of all misery is attachment to material things. Desire generates attachments; desire precedes illusion. Illusion is

removed by the knowledge of the spirit; the spirit lives in every particle of the universe; it lives within us, without us and everywhere. God is all 'Life,' 'Knowledge' and 'Bliss,' and to know God is to *be* God. Therefore happiness cannot be obtained in material enjoyment but in the knowledge of God. This is the essence of Sikhism. Until the soul has become free from desire of material objects, it has to suffer births and rebirths under the law of transmigration of souls.

The stages of practice.—The next question is how to become one with God and secure a stage of eternal happiness. The Guru says there are three stages:—(1) Discipline, (2) Meditation, and (3) *Giana*.

(1) *Discipline.*—The beginner must begin by keeping the company of good people (*sadhu-sangat*) and cultivate purity of character. Character (*achar*) supplies the soil for the sowing of the seed which is meditation on the name (*Nam*) and *giana* is the fruit (*sukhphal*). Discipline means total subjugation of the lower instinct (*ausri gunas*), of lust (*kam*), anger (*karodh*), blind attachment (*moh*), covetousness (*lobh*), vanity (*ahangkara*); and development of the higher virtues (*daivi gunas*), such as the proper use of the bodily essence (*sil*), contentment (*santokh*), kindness of all forms of life (*daya*), faith in Divine Existence (*dharm*), purity of body and mind (*such*), charity and benevolence (*dan*), toleration (*dhiraj*), and thoughtfulness (*vichar*). To discipline his mind one must always keep (*sat sang*) the company of holy men and learn to live independently by earning an honest livelihood. True discipline is cultivated not by living in seclusion but by leading a life useful in all respects. The Guru's tenet is: 'Fulfill all the duties of domestic and social life, but let not your heart forget your spiritual nature.'

(2) *Meditation.*—When the character-building is complete the *adhkari* is initiated into the society of the pure (*khalsa*). He is baptised (given *amrita*) by the 5 chosen Khalsa (Panch Guru Khalsa) and taught the method of meditation on the true name (Satnam). The message communicated to him at the *amrita* runs: 'Henceforth you belong to the community of the Khalsa, your father is Sri Guru Gobind Singh (protector of the universe), your mother Sahib Devi (the supreme power), your abode Anandpur (the city of bliss), your caste Sodh-bans (the family of the Lord). You will be bound to wear the 5 national symbols (*rahit* of the five *ka's*): (i) The *keshas*, to preserve your brain

in its normal condition. This is the sign of Yogi, implying abhorrence of all artificialities due to the desire to appear beautiful: (ii) *kach*, meant to teach you the habit of using the life-fluid properly: (iii) *kirpan*, to teach you the necessity of cultivating physical development and warn you against the danger of bodily deterioration: (iv) *kara* to bind you to obedience of the Guru's law as given in the Holy *Granth*: (v) *kangha*, as the comb keeps the hair pure, even so twice a day you should try to purge away all filthy thoughts from your mind. You shall also recite five *banis* everyday—

1. *Japp*—Comprising the main principles of Sikh spiritualism, ethics and divinity.
2. *Jap*—Giving the attributes of God, personal and impersonal.
3. *Swayas*—Inculcating the transitoriness of material enjoyments and emphasising the brevity of human life.
4. *Rahiras*—The prayer for peace.
5. *Sohala*—Praise of the Divine.

You shall believe in the Gurus as the 10 manifestations of one and the same Lord: and obey the commandments given in the Holy *Granth*.

You will have to meditate on the holy name with full concentration of mind everyday in the early morning.

You must perform all ceremonies (*sauskaras*) according to the instructions of the Khalsa.

Methods of meditation.—In the first stage attention must be fixed on the personality of the Guru by reading his life and by constantly thinking of the attributes to be cultivated. Afterwards, silent repetition of the name together with the understanding of the sense in the mind. By constant practice the name itself vanishes and the spirit makes itself manifest in the devotee's heart according to his conception.

(3) *The giana stage.*—Ultimately the individual soul enjoys perfect union with the supreme soul. In this stage the *bhagat* sees the one God within, without and everywhere and realises that:—'In Him he lives, moves and has his being.'

Notable features of the Sikh ideals.—The Sikh believes that the supreme soul has fully manifested itself in the Guru. He is therefore,

the creator, the preserver; and it is he who is the destroyer of the universe. He thus concentrates all his love on the Guru in a manner so earnest that he is ready never to flinch from the path laid down for him by the Guru even at the risk of his life. History narrates that in the time of Furrukhsiar Rs. 80 were offered as a prize for the head of a Sikh with his *keshas* (hair) yet never was Sikh known to betray his faith for worldly gain, however much he was tempted. Day and night the Sikh meditates on the self-radiant point ever effulgent in his breast through the grace of his Guru, and moves in the world self-poised, self-satisfied, and self-contented. He has full control over his temper and it is his object to make the most of the chances given him by serving others in all possible ways.

He has realised that as no form can endure he must one day pass away. The hour of death being uncertain he must use all his energy, wisdom and wealth in philanthropic deeds. Free from all vanity, he has totally resigned his will to the Guru. He is indifferent to pleasure and pain and is heedless of eulogy or abuse. Gold and dust are equal in his eyes. Thus ever singing his master's praises, he goes to the Home of Bliss after death, which he has really conquered in this life.

Growth of the Khalsa community.—Guru Nanak Deva spent his whole life travelling from place to place, sowing the seed of divine love, wherever he met a true seeker of God. In the course of time millions in distant lands became his followers.¹³⁹

Guru Angad worked on his lines and devised a new Panjabi alphabet in which the lives, hymns, and sermons of the Gurus were written.

The efforts of Siri Guru Amar Das were mainly devoted to the abolition of caste distinctions. He taught 'that good actions are commendable to God and that all men are equal.' He introduced the system of performing all ceremonies with the help of the Guru Bani and instructed the Sikhs to throw off the yoke of the Brahman priesthood.

The fourth Guru Ram Das began the Golden Temple at Amritsar as a centre for the Sikhs, to which they might come from all parts to anite themselves by the bond of brotherly love so essential to strengthen the national tie.

Guru Arjan ordered every Sikh to set apart one-tenth of his income for religious and charitable purposes. He framed rules of devotion and collected all the hymns of his four predecessors into the holy scripture called the *Granth* to which he himself largely contributed. This new form of Sikhism raised up many enemies to the Guru and so he instructed his son Guru Har Govind to devise means of safety for his disciples.

Guru Har Govind introduced military exercises and horsemanship among his Sikhs. In course of time they became good soldiers, and whenever their foes became aggressive they gave proofs of their valour, courage and military skill.

The story about Naina Devi has been wrongly represented in the text. The idea of the Guru was to show the Pandits and the people the hollowness of the cult of Devi. The first Gurus had already refused to accept the worship of any deity except the one Almighty God. Guru Gobind Singh was not bitterly opposed to Islam and the *pahul* or *amrit sanskar* was not for the purpose of retribution. The *pahul* in fact is a form of baptism, and the method of its administering proves it.

THE SIKH VIEW OF TRANSMIGRATION

The following gives the Sikh conception of the manner in which souls emanated from God—

As from one fire millions of sparks arise, though rising separately, they unite again in the fire,

As from one heap of dust several particles of dust fill the air, and on filling it again blend with the dust,

As in one stream millions of waves are produced, the waves being made of water all become water.

So from God's form non-sentient and sentient things are manifested.

Springing from Him shall all be united in Him.

THE CONCEPTION OF DIVINITY

'God is without passion, without colour, without form, without outline,

He is without wordly love, without anger, without enmity, without jealousy,

He is without Karma, without error, without birth and without caste,

He hath no friend, no enemy, no father, no mother, etc.'

THE DEFINITION OF KHALSA, THE PURE

1. He who repeateth night and day the name of Him whose enduring light is unquenchable, who bestoweth not a thought on any one but the one God.
2. Who hath full love and confidence in God, who putteth no faith even by mistake in fasting or worshipping, cemeteries, places of cremation, or Jogis' places of sepulchre,
3. Who only recognizeth the one God and not pilgrimages, alms, the non-destruction of life, Hindu penances and austerities,
4. And in whose heart the light of the perfect one shineth, he is recognized as a pure member of the Khalsa.

THE BALLAD OF HARI SINGH NALWA OR AMRITSAR

Larai Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa sakna Shahr Amritsar.

1. *Sohna bania Ambarsar, sohna bana darbar;
Sang marmar patthar lagia chandi charhe kewar.*
2. *Kai lakh ohnu sona lagia, moti lakh hazar;
Koi koi hat-wanyan basda, basda sahlukar.*
3. *Mahan Singh de ghar Ranjit Singh jamia, jamia bara
avtar;
Kai hazar usne ghore rakkhe, faujan lakh hasar.*
4. *Wich Khaibar de laggi larai, lishki hai talwar,
Othe ghaldio Hari Singh nun, faujan da Sirdar.*
5. *Teja Singh di fauj da Sikho, mainun nahin itibar,
Pahla dera Ravi de kande, duja Ravi de par;*
6. *Tija dera Pul Kanjri de, chutha Wazirabad;
Chambe ghore nun dewe thapien 'tu rakh dhaulian di laj.'*

7. *Nikki jehi utthi badli, minh barsa mohle dhar;
Chhapparian da pani pike, Sikh hogaye khabardar.*
8. *Chalo bhirao merio main rallia tuhade sath.
Othe margaya Hari Singh, biran da jamadar*
9. *Othe margaya Teja Singh, faujan da Sirdar.
Ek jo uttha ranya gaya Hari Singh nun sar.*
10. *Duron Lahoron chalia Farangi Karke manda bhana;
Majlin majlin anke uthe malia Ludhiana.*
11. *Dar dar usdi chaunki bahgaya, shahrin bahgaya thana,
Sikhan nun Angrezan ne marlia hoya Rab da bhana.*
12. *Duron Lahoron aya Firangi, sir par rakhkar topi;
Bare rajan se sark puttai, hath wich pakarke soti.*
13. *Srak teri sohi puttange, jinhandi kismat khoti;
Bhana Sikhan de utte bartia. kai na chalia sathi.*

TRANSLATION

1. Beautifully planned is the city of Ambarsar with a stately and imposing Darbar. In it white marble was used, and the doors are covered with silver.
2. Many lakhs worth of gold and a thousand lakhs of pearls were used. It is mainly inhabited by bankers, potty shop-keepers being few.
3. In the house of Mahan Singh was born Ranjit Singh, the great soul descended from Heaven. He had thousands of horses and maintained armies numbering a thousand lakhs.
4. In the Khaibar Pass war began, and swords flashed like lightning. Thither Hari Singh was sent in command of the forces.
5. 'O Sikhs, I trust not Teja Singh's army. So my first camp will be on the hither side of the Ravi's bank, and my second beyond it.

My third halt will be at Pul Kanjri and my fourth at Wazirabad.

6. Patting his bay steed Ranjit Singh said: 'Save my honour for the sake of my grey hairs.

7. A small cloud arose and rain began to fall in torrents. The Sikhs drinking water from the ponds became anxious.
8. 'O my brothers, press on, for I am with you.' There has Hari Singh, commander of the forces, been killed.
9. Sirdar Teja Singh has also been killed. One of the warriors went to burn Hari Singh Nalwa's body.
10. From Lahore set out the Firangi obeying the impulse of pride and marching stage by stage met the Sikhs at Ludhiana.
11. Posts were opened at every door, and a police station established in the midst of the city. The English defeated the Sikhs, for't was the will of God!
12. Straight from Lahore came the Firangi with hat on head and employed many masons in metalling the roads, holding a stick in his hand.
13. 'Thy roads will be metalled by those who are unfortunate.' Trouble seized the Sikhs at land and none sided with them!

The Tale of Lachhman Das, Otherwise Banda Sahib, Disciple of the Guru Sahib, the Singh.

Ahwal Lachhman Das urf Banda Sahib, Chela Guru Singh Sahib.

DOHA

1. *Abchala nagar hai Sri Ganga ke pas,
Sadhu Lachhman Das hai bairagi, kare nivas.*
2. *Khatri Sodhi-bans, sun, bhayo, bairagi a'e,
Abchal nagri Gangatat, sadhe tap ko ja'e.*

CHAUPAI

3. *Sundar Ram baghicha laga,
Sukh sambhu, dukh nirkhath bhaga.*
4. *Anek bhant phal phul suha'e,
Khag, mirg, gunjad, lahut sukh da'e.*
5. *Wa ke madh bani amrai,
Sukh-su-vas sab bhant suha'i.*

DOHA

6. *Amrai ke bich ek palang bichha sukh-sar,
Ohar bir ohau tarf rahen rakhwale, balikar.*

CHAUPAI

7. *Aur koi paithe tahan idi,
Patak bhum maren, so tain.*
8. *Jo palang ke nere jawat,
Phir jiwat pachhe nahin awat.*
9. *Pakr pachharen Ganga tas,
Turt karen Amrapur was.*

DOHA

10. *Sri Guru ke punth men sakal byaye balwan,
Badshah daswen bhae Guru Gobind Singh ar.*

KABIT

11. *Guru Nanak, Gur Angad, Gur Amardas, Guru Ramdas,
Guru Arjan dharo,
Guru Hargobind, Har Rai, Hari Krishn bicharo,*
12. *Tegh Bahadar, bhayo, nam dhar ek man lino,
Sabd guru updeshe dan sangat ko dino*
13. *Kala dhar Guru Gobind Singh bhae, amar bhae Kalu
men sakhi,
Jhankar, bhayo, tirlak men bird, pej satgur ki rakhi.*

DOHA

14. *Sri Guru Gobind Singhji dharo dharm Autar,
Malechhan ke hat karne parbal, bhayo, balkar.*

KABIT

15. *Ashp ke aswar bhayo, Guru Gobind Singhji sail sadhayo,
Gang ashnan kiyu hit hit, sun bhayo, Lachhman Das ke
bagh men ayo.*

16. *Palang bichhen bano ati sundar baithat wahpah harkh,
widhayo,
Bir rahe bul la'ei na lagat dhan, Guruji ko tej sowayo.*

KABIT

17. *Lachhman Das Sadhu Gang ashnan kar puja path matitr
jap amrai ayo hain,
Age su Gobind Singh baithat par pank mahin, dharm
autar shubhr ajit sohayo hain.*
18. *Nirakh chakrit, bhayo, aiso baith kaun ayo, tej wa partap
jan bismay suhayo hain.
Biran ko agiakar pakr ke pachharo nar, aiso ahankari
budh as kaun ayo hain.*

CHOUPAI

19. *Biran ank bhant bal layo;
Palang nahin so utho uthayo.*
20. *Guru Gobind Singh jo abtar,
Kia's karen biran balkar?*

DOHA

21. *Puchhat Guru Gobind Singh tum ho sadhu kaun?
At-parchand ujjal tuje kiun dhar baithe maun?*
22. *Sahib ke banda bhaye, ehhi hamaro nam,
Nis din japde baithke Parmeshwar Sri Ram.*

CHAUPAI

23. *Tum banda sahib ke piyaro,
Te jas asi tap karnewale.*
24. *Ab kar apne shashtar dharo,
Dharm kaj yeh bachan hamaro.*
25. *Maleechhan, sun, judh racpao,
Banda Sahib nam kahao.*
26. *Lachhman Das ji sant ne lio teg kar dhar,
Mughlan ke hat karne lage karan dangar.*

27. *Wahe Guru ki fatah, so wahe Guru ka raj!
Guru Gobind Singh amar hain, ki'o dharm ka kaj.*

CHAUPAI

28. *Judh karat Turkan sun bhari,
Mughlan ki buh sen sanghari.*
29. *Jang Sarandh ank bidh bhayo,
Tiag deh Gur surpur gayo.*

DOHA

30. *Dhuta Labana, bhayo, Sikh Guru ka jan,
Ik shat mohar Gobind Singh deni tha man.*

CHAUPAI

31. *Dhutte ko Guru bachhan sunaya,
Sikh Guru ka bahut suhaya.*
32. *Ab tum jao apne gam,
Kijo ja'e tihan bisram.*

KABIT

33. *Guru Gobind Singh kahe Dhutte ko: gam tumhare
awenge,
Do ungli tumri kar apni pakar nishani lawenge.*
34. *Sikh apna bhai tuji ko apne pas mangawenge,
Tab jano tum Guru hamara ek sau moharen pawenge.*

CHAUPAI

35. *Charh biban Gur surg sadhao,
Dhuta apne dware aye.*
36. *Bahut diwas sun phir kahe as,
Gur ke charnon lage as.*
37. *'Kab Gur is des men awen,
Do ungli muj ko pakrawen;*
38. *Ek sau mohar ma se mangen?
Dhan bhag more jab jagen.'*

KABIT

39. *Chandr-Bhaga nadi binare Bandah tap ko ayo hai,
Mahan pawitor bhani ki dekhi baith kahin sukh payo hai.*
40. *Desan ke bhupal jake, sub ne matho nayo hai,
Dhutte got Labane Gur ke age sis lagayo hai.*

CHAUPAI

41. *Dhutha apne pas pas mangayo;
Bandah Sahib bachan sunayo.*
42. *Do ungli tin ko pakr ai,
Ek sau mohar nam swnai.*
43. *Dhutte man men parm uchhdha,
Dhan dhan karat charn liptaha.*

TRANSLATION

1. Abchal¹⁴⁰ is a town close by holy Ganges,
And in it lived a saint, one Lachhman Das Bairagi.
2. He was a Khatri of the Sodhi sect, but he became a
Bairagi,
At Abchal town on the Ganges bank he performed penance.
3. In it lay a beautiful and pleasant garden,
In it (was found) every kind of pleasure, without pain.
4. In it were countless kinds of fruits and flowers,
Birds and deer added pleasure to its delights.
5. In it stood a summer house, just at its centre,
A pleasant dwelling which afforded joys of every kind.
6. In it was spread a luxurious couch,
Which was guarded on all four sides by four champions,
powerful men.
7. If any one went to sit thereover.
They straightway threw him on the ground.
8. Whosoever even approached the couch,
Never came back alive.

9. They cast him into the Ganges,
(And) forthwith he entered Heaven.
10. All the Guru's followers became powerful,
Guru Govind Singh was the 10th King.
11. Know then the Gurus:
Nanak, Angad, Amar Das, Ram Das, Arjan, Hargobind,
Har Rai, Hari Krishn.
12. Teg Bahadur, who believed in the unity of God
Gave the boon of the Guru's teaching to his followers.
13. Guru Govind Singh was glorious, and in the Kali Yuga
immortal,
His story resounded through three worlds, and he kept up
the glories of his Guru.
14. Holy Govind Singh was an incarnation,
He showed his might in assaults on the Mlechhas,
15. Mounted on his horse Guru Govind Singh went forth,
Bathed joyously in the Ganges and so came to Lachhman
Das' garden.
16. There he found the splendid couch and seated himself
thereon with great delight,
In vain the *birs* (champions) put forth all their strength:
Blessed be the glorious Guru!
17. So Lachhman Das the saint, after bathing and reciting his
prayers, returned to the summer house,
Where he found Govind Singh seated on the couch, (him)
who was an incarnation of God and most glorious!
18. Seeing him he was mazed (and said): 'Who is seated
here,?' Seeing his glory and his splendour he was
astounded.
(And) he bade the guardians (saying): 'Cast out this fellow,
who is seated so arrogantly here!'
19. The champions exerted all their strength,
But the couch did not move.

20. Guru Govind Singh was an incarnation of God,
What could the mighty champions do?
21. Guru Govind Singh asked, 'What saint art thou?
Thou who art so glorious, why art thou silent?'
22. 'I am the Servant of God, *that* is my name!
Day and night I repeat God's *name*.'
23. Thou art the beloved Servant of God,
Glorious one! and a performer of penance.
24. Take warlike weapons in thy hand,
And listen to my preaching.
25. Attack the Mlechhas courageously,
And earn the title of 'God's Slave'
26. Lachhman Das, the holy one, took in his hand the sword,
And resolved to put the Mughals to death, in battle.
27. (His war-cry was) 'Victory to the Guru! Thus shall be the
Guru's reign!'
Guru Govind Singh is immortal, he hath done works of
piety.
28. He made fierce war on the Turks,
Many Mughals were destroyed.
29. He fought at Sarandh with all his might,
The Guru gave up his life, and went to Heaven.
30. Dhutha Labana became a disciple of the Guru,
And had a mind to offer him 100 gold *mohars*.
31. The Guru exhorted Dhutha,
And he, the Guru's disciple, was greatly pleased.
32. The Guru said: 'Now get thee to thy village,
And dwell there in peace.'
33. Guru Govind Singh said to Dhutha: 'We will come to your
village,
Grasping two of your fingers we will make a sign.
34. I shall call you to me through one of my own disciples,
Then know that your Guru will accept the 100 *mohars*.'

35. Ascending his (celestial) chariot, the Guru went to Heaven,
And Dhutha returned home.
36. Many days he waited there,
In expectation of his Guru's coming.
37. (Thinking) 'When will the Guru come to this country,
And give me his two fingers to hold?
38. And ask me for the 100 *Mohars*?
Blessed then will be my lot?'
39. To the bank of the Chenab river came Banda to do
penance,
Seeing the great purity of its soil there he rested.
40. All the rulers of the land came to do him homage,
Dhutha Labana bowed his head to the Guru.
41. He called Dhutha to him,
Banda, 'God's Slave' spake to him.
42. He gave him his two fingers,
And mentioned the 100 *mohars*.
43. Dhutha was greatly delighted in his heart,
Saying again and again 'Blessed one' he clung to his feet.

REFERENCES

1. 35, not 34 as usually stated. Each verse began with a letter of the alphabet. The letters are exactly the same 35. as are now found in the Gurmukhi alphabet, even including the letter (r) which is peculiar to Gurmukhi, thus proving that the Gurmukhi alphabet existed before his time and was not invented by the second Guru, Angad, though the name Gurmukhi may have replaced its original name, which was possibly Tankre. See the pamphlet: *The Origin of the Gurmukhi Characters*, Coronation Printing Works, Hall Bazar, Amritsar. Sir George Grierson holds that the alphabet is derived from the Sarada through the Takri of the Hills and the *lauda* script of the plains: J.R.A.S., 1916, p. 677.
2. Subsequently the legend ran that a huge black snake had raised its hood over Nanak's head to shield him from the sun's rays while he slept.
3. Mardana was the founder of the Rababi group of the Pom-Mirasi. Cunningham calls him the harper, or rather a chanter and player upon a stringed instrument like a gaitar: *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 42.

4. Khazan Singh locates Sajan at Tulamba and places the incident in the second tour. The Shaikh inveigled Mardana into his house and maltreated him, hoping to secure the Guru's accumulated offerings in his possession. Tulamba had been in Taimur's time a considerable centre of religious learning for his biographies speak of its Saiyids, *ulmas* and *shaskhs*: E.H.I. III, pp. 413, 484, cited in the *Multan Gazetteer*, 1901-02, p. 373 *f*. No mention of Sajan is traceable. But at Chawali Mashaikh in Mailsi tahsil is a Darbar Sahib of Baba Nanak: *ib.*, p. 123. So too at Nigaha there is a shrine to Baba Nanak north-west of the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar: *Dera Ghazi Khan Gazetteer*, 1898, p. 53.
5. This must have occurred in 1524, and though Nanak does not mention the occurrence in the *Granth*, it may well have happened. In this pilgrimage to the East Nanak supplemented his imperfect schooling by constant dialectics with Muhammadan Shaikhs and other *faqirs*. He then returned to Talwandi.
6. Khazan Singh, p. 75.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
8. *Ib.*, p. 102.
9. The *chola* or cloak said to have been presented to him at Mecca is preserved at Pera Baba Nanak. It is inscribed with thousands of words and figures: *Gurdaspur Gazetteer*, 1914, p. 30.
10. Khazan Singh, p. 70.
11. Angad is said to mean 'own body' (fr. ang, Sanskr. 'body'), because Lahna obeyed Guru Nanak's order to eat of a corpse which vanished when he began to do so: McGregor's *Hist. of the Sikhs*, I p. 49, and Malcolm's *Sketch*, p. 208. But a more probable account is that he was blessed by the Guru and proclaimed as flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood; as the Guru's self, in fact.
12. *Als eine Art Reichsapfel* (Trumpp, *Die Religion der Sikhs*, p. 11)—*cf.* Murray's *History of the Punjab*, I, p. 169. But Khazan Singh says that the cocoon was used at Guru Angad's nomination.
13. B. Gurbakhsh, however writes.—“The tradition that the second Guru invented the Gurmukhi alphabet is based on a misreading of the spurious book called the *Janamsakhi of Bhai Bala*. Guru Angad only secured the *Janampatri* or horoscope of Guru Nanak from his uncle Lalu: see the introductory portion of this *sakhi* given in Dr. Trumpp's *Translation of the Granth*. The peculiar script of Guru Gobind Singh's letters is an earlier stage of Gurmukhi.
14. The *Panth-Prakash* calls them *gaddis*. *Manja* means a large couch so that 'see' would be a good translation of the term. *Cf.* Akbar's 22 provinces: G.C. Narang, *transformation of Sikhism*, p. 23.
15. Khazan Singh, p. 118.

16. Not his eldest son. Arjan's elder brother Pirthi Chand had founded a rival sect, the Minas. The eldest son was more than once set aside as personally unfit or not available.
17. *Dacca Review*, 1916, p. 378.
18. Khazan Singh, p. 118. Akbar had employed Meoras or Mewatis, of the Mewat, as dak-runners, spies and on other delicate duties: *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 252. The definition of meora as 'a Guru's priest' cited in Vol. III, p. 86 *infra*, is misleading.
19. Narang, p. 35. He suggests that *masand* is a corruption of *masnad-i-ala* or 'Excellency,' a title of the Mughal governors, and that though there are now no Sikh *masands* the system still continues in the sect founded by Banda, and the *masands* exist under the style of Bhai in that sect. But a writer in the *Dacca Review* for January 1916 (p. 317) speaks of the term as equivalent to *sangatia*. And he writes:—'the original number' (of the *masands*) got very much multiplied (under the successors of that third Guru. With the gradual transformation of Sikhism, this system also underwent a change and the bishops did not remain purely spiritual guides, but became collectors of tithes, etc. (p. 316) This confirms the view expressed in the text. Followers of *masands*, who were in charge of *sangats*, were called *sangtias* or *masandias*, not *masands* themselves. Trump says Guru Arjan introduced a regular system of taxation, compelling all Sikhs to contribute 'according to their means or other gains.' But this Guru appears to have established the tithe, *dasaundh*, *dasmandh*, 'a regular tenth contributed to the Gurus' *vide Panjabi Diety*, & v. In the Western Punjab, at any rate. This title was called *sikhi* or was replaced by anew tax called by that term.
20. According to Khazan Singh (p. 130) these titles were assumed first by Guru Har Govind.
21. Khazan Singh, p. 119. Guru Arjan's *baoli* in the Dabbi Bazar at Lahore was also made by the Muhammadan governor, Hosain Khan: p. 121.
22. II p. 272 *et seq.*
23. According to the *Tuzuk* of Jehangir he waited upon Khusr when the latter halted at his residence, and placed the saffron finger mark or *tika* upon his forehead: J.A.S.B., 1907, p. 603. The meeting took place at Tarn Taran according to Khazan Singh, p. 125.
24. The Sikh accounts aver that Chandu Lal continued his intrigues against Guru Har Govind and prevailed on Jehangir to demand payment by him of the fine imposed on the father, but the Guru forbade the Sikhs to raise the money. Mian Mir, however interceded with Jehangir at Delhi and not only obtained his release but reconciled him to this emperor whom he accompanied on his tour in Rajputana and who even employed him to

subdue the rebellious chief of Nalagarh: Khazan Singh, p. 129. This account is easily reconcilable with that of the *Dabistan* (II. p. 274) which represents Guru Har Govind as entering Jehangir's service and continuing to serve Shahjehan: yet the latter emperor sent troops against him and they drove him out of Ramdaspur (Amritsar) and plundered his land there. The Guru was victorious in his struggle with Painsa Khan, who resisted the fortification of Hargovindpur, but imperial troops intervened and drove him to seek refuge amongst the Hill States: *ib.*, p. 277. The testimony of Mohsin-i-Fani is in some ways all the more valuable in that he was a Muhammadan.

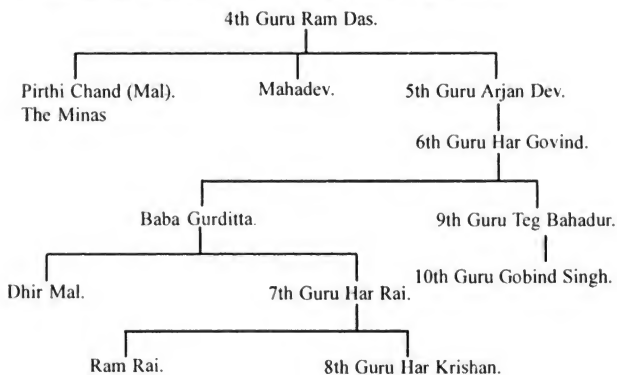
Malcolm's *Sketch* (p. 32) reproduces a tradition which is not based on any written or authentic proof.

Other authorities say that the Guru was invited by the emperor to Delhi and thence accompanied him to Agra. There misled by an astrologer the emperor requested the Guru to fast and pray for him for a period of forty days in the solitary hill fort of Gwalior. This was a plot on the part of Chandu and other enemies of the Guru to get him out of the way. But the emperor soon realized his mistake, sent for the Guru and at his request liberated many of the hill Rajas imprisoned in Gwalior.

25. *Dacca Review*, 1916, p. 228. *Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal*. The Nanakmata near Naini Tal seems to have been called the 'Nanakmata of Almastraj.' B. Gurbakhsh Singh writer regarding the *sangat* at Shujatpur: 'The inscription on a stone in the well of this *sangat* commemorates the name of the original founder and his "Mother Lodge" of Nanakmata. This new *sangat* was not named Nanakmata, but it was under the Lodge at Nanakmata in Naini Tal, and its priests were appointed or removed by the head at that place.
26. His prowess as an archer is still remembered for he would shoot an arrow from Srigovindpur to the shrine of Damdama, a distance of about half a miles *Gurdaspur Gazetteer*, 1914, p. 17.
27. Khazan Singh, pp. 140-1.
28. Muhammad Latif: *Lahore, its History*, etc., p. 197.
29. Macauliffe places this event in Sbt. 1701 (= 1644 A.D.) but this appears to be an error. The *Dabistan* gives the year as 1645 and its correctness has now been proved, by a manuscript recently found in Eastern Bengal. Its author had seen this Guru at Kiratpur in 1643 A.D. Macauliffe rightly rejected the Hinduising version of the Guru's death, according to which he caused himself to be shut up in Patalpuri and bade Guru Har Rai not to open the door till the 7th day, when he was found dead: *Dacca Review*, 1916, p. 378.
30. Gurditta, his father and Har Govind's oldest son, had become an Udasi, and this disqualified him for the office of Guru, now a quasi-secular

chiefship. From a tent-peg driven in by him sprang the Tahli Sahib, a large *shisham* at Ghakhar Kotli, a village in the south-west of Shakargarh tahsil: *Gurdaspur Gazetteer*, 1914, p. 17.

31. We do not know why Ram Rai was passed over. As a hostage he may have been held ineligible. A somewhat similar incident occurs in Bahawalpur history. According to the Sikh accounts he had misquoted a verse of Guru Nanak: Khazan Singh, p. 145. An early tradition recorded by the Court Historian of Maharaja Ranjit Singh makes Ram Rai, the brother of Har Rai, son of Baba Gurditta, on being superseded appeal to the emperor, who would not or could not help him, and uphold the election. Baba Gurditta had married a second wife much against the wishes of his father, and Ram Rai was his son by that wife: see the *Umdatul-Tawarikh* by Lala Sohan Lal, Suri, Vakil, Lahore Darbar.
32. Sikh authorities say that 22 Sodhis of Bakala each claimed to be the rightful Guru, but they all failed to stand the test of divining what sum one Makhan Shah, a Labana, had vowed to offer the Guru when he escaped shipwreck.
33. Teg Bahadur was the 5th son of Guru Har Govind and his wife Nanaki, and was born at Amritsar on Baisakh *bad* 5, 1678 Sambat (1621 A.D.).
34. Trumpp is almost certainly wrong in making Dhir Mal a son of Guru Ram Das: *Adi Granth*, p. cxvi. He is cited by Maclagan, pp. 101 and 104. The genealogy given in the latter paragraph should be as follows:



founder of the *Ram Raidas*.

Khazan Singh does not say whose son Dhir Mal was, but he states that he had possession of the *Granth* and supported Ram Rai's pretensions: pp. 150-51.

35. We also find the Guru assigning the offerings of Hansi and Hissar to Galara, a *masand* who lived at Chihka.
36. There were four of these *takhts* or 'thrones' at Anandpur, Amritsar, Patna, and Nander (Haiderabad, Deccan).
37. *Dacca Review*, 1915, p. 225 *f*.
38. *Ib.*, 1916, p. 377 *f*.
39. *Ib.*, 1916, p. 376. Trumpp discredited this story, but its substantial truth must now be regarded as established in spite of the pilgrim's exaggerations in his account of the victuals consumed at the daily *yagya* in the principal temple in Ceylon. The name given in the Sikh books is Shivnabh and not *Shivnath*. *Nath* in Buddhist literature means an evil spirit and *nabh* has sacred associations as in *Padam nabh*, etc. It is quite possible that the name was changed on purpose and the Sikh books give it correctly as known at Jaffna. Another explanation is that Shivnath in Persian character was misread as *Shivnath* by early chroniclers. Even in Gurmukhi Shivnath is apt to be misread as Shivnath, the letters *b* and *th* being so alike. For a similar reason Banda would be obliged to call himself a Kshatriya instead of a Khatri in the Deccan, where the term Khatri is used for Dhed weavers.
40. Guru Nanak, it was said, had promised Babur the empire for 7 generations. Six emperors of his line had reigned, and Teg Bahadur would offer his own life in lieu of the 7th.
41. Saifabad lies 4 or 5 miles from Patiala.
Govind Rai was here visited by Bhikham Shah, owner of Kuhram and Siana, 4 miles from Lakhnaur, and of Thaska which the emperor had bestowed on him. Govind Rai guaranteed his possession of Thaska during the future Sikh domination. Govind Rai's close connection with leading Muhammadans is remarkable.
42. Khazan Singh, p. 118.
43. *Ib.*, p. 133.
44. *Ib.*, p. 136.
45. *Ib.*, p. 139.
46. *Ib.*, p. 143.
47. *Ib.*, p. 164. the *Sirmur Gazetteer*, p. 15, gives a slightly different account. It says that the Guru declined to surrender an elephant to Raja Bhim Chand and Hari Chand, both of Bilaspur, so that compelled him to leave Anandpur, then in that state, and he came to Toka whence he was brought to Nahan by the Raja of Sirmur. Thence he proceeded to Paonm. Meanwhile the Bilaspur Raja had returned the presents made by the Guru to Raja Fateh Shah of Garhwal whose daughter was marrying a Bilaspur prince. This insult determined the Guru to prepare for war and at Bhargani.

8 miles from Paonta, he defeated both Hari haud and Fatch Shah. The Guru resided at Paonta from 1686 to 1689. *Ib.*, p. 112. [1742-5].

48. *Ib.*, p. 166.
49. Khazan Singh, pp. 167-9.
50. Simla Hill States *Gazetteer*, Bilaspur, p. 6. The year of this victory is not stated but it appears to have been won late in Bhim Chand's reign, 1665-92 A.D. B Gurbakhsh Singh points out that it must have occurred before S. 1755 at any rate, as in that year Guru Gobind Singh wrote an account of all these engagements. The elephant came from Dacca. Unfortunately neither this letter nor the one that followed a few months later is dated, but they were certainly sent after 1748 S. which is the date of the first letter, written while peace still prevailed, though war material was being collected. So the hostilities must have commenced between 1748 and 1755 S., more probably nearer the former date, say about 1749 S. or 1692 A. Guru Gobind Singh's letter to the ancestors of the Phulkian chiefs, now preserved at Patiala, is dated 1753 S. It invites them to aid him with their horsemen. This appears to have been the last engagement of Guru Gobind Singh with the hill Bajas, and an account of it is given in the introduction to his *Bachitra Natak*, completed in 1755 S. The dates of these engagements therefore fall between 1748 and 1755 S.
51. Khazan Singh, p. 169.
52. *Ibid.*, say-Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, but a few lines before he writes as if another Bhim Chand were meant and in this he is correct for Bhim Chand of Bilaspur had abdicated in 1692: Simla Hill States *Gazetteer* Bilaspur, p. 6.
53. Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I. pp. 99-100.
54. *The Rajas of the Punjab*, pp. 580-86.
55. Mandi *Gazetteer*, p. 9.
56. Vigne's *Travels*, p. 100.
57. Mandi *Gazetteer*, p. 11.
58. Khan a high, pp. 175-8.
59. Simla Hill States *Gazetteer*, Bilaspur, p. 7.
60. *Ib.*, Mahlog, p. 5: *cf.* Bilaspur, p. 12.
61. Chamba *Gazetteer*, p. 99.
62. *Ib.*, pp. 100-01.
63. *Ib.*, p. 108.
64. Chamba *Gazetteer*, p. 99.
65. Forster's *Travels*.

66. Ranjit Singh—*Rulers of India*.
67. Simla Hill States *Gazetteer*, Baghal, p. 6. The place-name Dughli is clearly derived from the *deota* whose own name would seem to mean thin or 'emaciated.'
68. Khazan Singh, pp. 170-73.
69. Simla Hill States *Gazetteer*, Bilaspur, pp. 13-14.
70. According to some writers the Guru initiated five Sikhs only by the *pahul*. Each was styled Bhai, to denote that he was spiritually a brother of his follows. These appear to be the five alluded to below. Their names were Sahib Singh, Daya Singh, Himmat Singh, Dharm Singh and Mohkaro Singh.
71. 'Lit. 'lion' Singh had long been an affix of names among the military classes of India, though not, I think, confined to Kshatriyas (Temple, *Proper Names of Punjabis*, p. 14).
72. 'A precisely similar change of suffix is usual (i) among *faqirs*—on entering a religious order, and (ii) among heirs to the crown—on ascending the throne.
73. Macauliffe in *Calc. Rev.*, 1881, p. 162.
74. The error is due apparently to the fact that the *pahul* of Guru Govind Singh was called the *khanda pahul* or initiation of the dagger, whereas Banda initiated by the *charan pahul*, where at the initiate drinks water in which the Guru's foot (*charan*) has been washed: Khazan Singh, p. 219. The Sikh was always to go armed. Malcolm says an initiate was presented with 5 weapons, a sword, fire-lock, bow and arrow, and a pike: *Sketch, to Asiatic Researches*, XI, p. 285. Cunningham, p. 79.
75. In Sikhism the number 5 has always had a mystical significance Guru Govind Singh deputed 5 chosen Sikhs to Banda's army, and bestowed on him 5 arrows to protect him in extremity: *ib.*, p. 157.
76. Macauliffe, in *Calc. Rev.*, 1881, p. 162.

But the *pahul* was the essential rite. It is difficult to say why it has ever been described as a form of baptism. The initiate, after bathing and donning clean clothes, sits in the midst of an assembly generally summoned for the purpose, some sugar is mixed with water in an iron basin and five Sikhs in turn stir it with a double-edged dagger chanting certain verses of the *Granth*. After this some of the solution is sprinkled over the hair and body of the initiate and some of it is given him to drink. The *raht* or rules of Sikh conduct are also explained to him. The solution is called *amrit*, and *amrit chhaknd*, 'drinking nectar,' is thus another name for Sikh 'baptism.' The *amrit* is supposed to confer immortality on this new son of Govind Singh, to make him a Singh (lion) and a true Kshatriya. Finally

karah prashad (*halwa*, sweetmeats) is distributed among those present: Narang, p. 81, *cf.* p. 78. At-initiation the Sikh also becomes a son of Mata Sahib Devi, the childless wife of Guru Govind Singh, who asked for issue and was told she would become the mother of the whole Khalsa: Khazan Singh, p. 166. Women are also initiated by the *khanda pahul* and Khazan Singh says that Mughal and Sayyid women were so initiated in 1750. They were taken in marriage by the Singhs: p. 249. On the other hand Macauliffe says that Guru Govind Singh appears to have left no instructions regarding the forms of prayer for women or their initiation in the new religion. Nevertheless they offered him homage in his wanderings, ministered to his necessities and received salvation from him as he reward of their attentions. Childless women who visited him miraculously received the gift of children. Mothers, he indicated, could expiate the dread crime of (females) infanticide by simply bathing in full costume in a sacred tank. Women are said to have fought in his battles and to have been wounded on behalf of the Khalsa; and it is recorded that the saintly and childless Mai Bhago, attired in the Sikh *kachh* and a *peocha* or turban, and armed with a ponderous javelin, commanded a body of the ten faithful Sikhs with whom she watched over the Guru in his nightly slumbers: *Calc. Rev.*, 1881, p. 75.

Pandit Sheo Narain, R.B., gives an interesting history of the rite of initiation in his paper on *Pahul* (Sikh baptism) in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, IV, p. 62-7. Deriving the term from *paw*, 'foot' and *hal*, 'shaken' or 'stirred,' he ascribes its origin to Guru Nanak. In its inception the rite consisted of washing a toe of the Guru in a basin of water which was then drunk by the initiate who had to spend sometime as a novice in the service of the Guru of his order and attain a certain degree of self-abnegation. Bhai Kahau Singh states that the initiate also drank water touched by the foot of other devout Sikhs, whatever their original castes, so that all pride of caste was destroyed. In the time of Guru Arjan the water was not touched by the Guru's too, but simply placed under the *manja* or *masnad* of the Guru. But Guru Govind Singh greatly elaborated the rite and changed its significance.

At the *khanda pahul*, instituted by him, an iron vessel is filled with water and sugar, wafers are mixed in it. Instead of being placed below the *masnad* it is act in *front* of it. The presence of the *Granth Sahib* is indispensable, together with a reader (*granthi*) and five initiated Sikhs, of pure and unblemished character, called *piaras*. (The *Granth* nowadays represents the Guru and the five *piaras* the original five companions.) The novice constantly mutters the *Wah Guru*, standing throughout the rite. The *granthi* and the five ministers then announce to the congregation that a candidate desires to enter the fold of Sikhism and on its tacitly assenting the *granthi* exclaims: *Sat Guru de-agaya*, 'the true Guru has assented.' Then prayers

are offered the Guru's spiritual presence invoked and the novice blessed by the ministers who assume the *hirasan* or soldierly pose. One of them holds the vessel with both hands, another fills it with water, a third puts in sugar, a fourth draws a sword and sits opposite the holder of the vessel. and the fifth, the leading minister, thrusts a two-edged dagger into the water and airs the sugar unceasingly, while he recites the *Japji*, *Jap Sahib*, *Chaupai* and *Swayyas* from the *Granth*. He then passes the dagger to his colleagues who repeat the rite. On its return to him he also repeats the rite, but recites the *Anand*. Then all five stand up and offer a prayer. The initiation begins with an invocation by the leading minister, after which the *granthi* again asks the congregation to assent and repeats the phrase *Sat Guru de-agaya*. Then the five ministers approach the candidate who repeat the *mul-mantra* (root text), the first stanza of the *apji*, five times. Instructed in the essentials of the Sikh he bows before the *Granth* and sits in a soldierly posture. Five handfuls of *amrit* are placed in his hands and he repeats the *Wah Guru ka Khalsa*, etc. over each. He then sanctifies his sight by gazing at the principal minister who sprinkles the mixture five times over his face. Then the rest of it is given him to drink, and if more than one novice be initiated at the same time the cup is passed from mouth to mouth to obliterate all caste scruples.

The addition of sugar to the water is accounted for by the following episode: Guru Govind Singh intended to use pure water in the rite, but Mata Sahib Dewan brought *patashas* and mixed them with it. The Guru remarked that he had meant to use water stirred by a sword, but the Wah Guru intended otherwise. The sweetness added signified that although a Sikh should be a soldier yet he should enjoy peace at home, with God, his *Guru* and the world and that he is only to fight defensively. Tradition adds that once the Guru spilt some of the *amrit* and the birds drank it and began to quarrel. The Mata Sahib to avert this omen persuaded the Guru to mix *patashas* in the water. Women also receive the *pahul*, but in their case a single-edged dagger is used, though it is said that efforts are being made to review the ancient practice which used a two-edged one in their initiation also.

The whole history of the rite, its origin and development, show how fundamentally it differs from the ritual significance of baptism. A similar custom will be noticed among the Baloch.

77. But Muhammadans often prefer blue to any other colour for clothes. No Sikh will or should wear clothes dyed *kasumbha*, or saffron, the favourite colour of Hindu devotees. Govind Singh escaped disguised in blue clothing when he escaped from the battle of Chankaur, personating a priest of Uch.
78. Cunningham (p. 79) following Bhai Gurdas Bhalla says "Krishna" but Balram is alluded to.

79. The list was clearly an appeal to the non-existent sentiment of nationality.
80. The causes of Guru Govind Singh's hostility to the *masandias* are quite obscure. Malcolm says he put to death many of this *tribe (sic)*, and described them as 'a sect who call themselves Gurus or priests, and endeavour to introduce heterodox doctrines': *Sketch in As. Res.*, XI, p. 286. They opposed him in his propaganda of the sword, rebelled, established their own sects, and were the *sangatias* referred to in his letters.

Other Gurus retained their *masands* and at Ghurani in the Sahibgarh tahsil of Patiala the Marwaha Sarin Khatri are still *masands* of Guru Ram Rai in Dehra Dun. They are descendants of Bhai Balu of Gondwal in Amritsar who was appointed by Guru Amr Das and whose shrine is at Dadan in Ludhiana. They now serve the *gurdwara* in Dehra Dun and also the *darbars* of Mata Rajkaur at Mani Majra and Baba Gurditta at Kiratpur: Phulkian States *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 95.

81. Cunningham, pp. 78-9. For *bhaddanis* P. Sheo Narain says 'huqa-smokers' (*nari-mar*) is now substituted in the *pahul* rite, but aloofness from either class is now regarded as impracticable.
82. According to Cunningham, p. 74.
83. *Ib.*, pp. 94-5.
84. Another account makes Banda also a Punjab Khatri of the Sialkot District—perhaps of the Kapur section. The verses quoted at the end of this section also make him a Khatri of the Sodhi clan. He was married in a Mehra or Marwaha family. The former would make him a Kapur or a Khanna and the latter a Sodhi according to the endogamous laws prevailing in the Punjab. See note on p. 722.
85. He possessed a volume called the *Sidh Anunia*, compiled by a disciple of Gorakhnath: Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion under Banda* in *Calc. Rev.*, 1881, p. 155.
86. This is very uncertain, as indeed is the whole question of Banda's relations with Govind Singh: see Khazan Singh, pp. 198-200. There seems some reason to believe that he had been active before the death of Govind Singh and possibly it was that Guru's death which caused the leaderless Sikhs to flock to his standard.
87. Other authorities say he *was* so initiated.
88. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
89. *Ib.*, p. 210. Pael is now in Patiala; Phulkian States *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 200.
90. Lohgarh, the Sikh name for Mukhlispur, stood on a steep hill a few miles from Sadhaura Iradat Khan calls it Deber. Its site is now only marked by a mound on a hill encompassed by two mountain streams: G.C. Narang.

- p. 110. It must not be confounded with the fort in Gurdaspur, also styled by some Lohgarh, *ib.*, p. 114. But the precise site of this latter Lohgarh is also in dispute. It is identified with Gurdaspur itself and with a village still called Lohgarh near Dinanagar, but its site is probably a mound in Bathwala, a village one mile north of Gurdaspur: *Gurdaspur Gazetteer*, 1914, p. 18.
91. Khazan Singh says 'Tiravri, Sirhind and Kharar, and then observes that the third battle took place at Burail. He probably means Tirauri in the province of Sirhind.
 92. *Ib.*, pp. 211-13.
 93. The Raja of Sirmur was charged with having allowed him to pass through his territory and was sent a state prisoner to Delhi: *ib.*, p. 214.
 94. *Ib.*, p. 215.
 95. *Ib.*, p. 216.
 96. According to Macauliffe (*Calc. Rev.*, 1881, p. 159) he prescribed garments dyed with safflower and red turbans in lieu of the blue clothes of the Sikhs.
 97. The followers of Banda Bairagi are said to still form a sect in the south-west of the Punjab under the name of the Banda-panthi: Maclagan, § 107. Cunningham also mentions them: *Hist.*, p. 378.
 98. According to Macauliffe Banda's hostility to the Sikhs became acute in his later years and he openly proclaimed his purpose to establish himself as Guru and offer hecatombs of Sikh opponents to Kali. 'Such sacrifices, initiated and sanctioned by Govind, Banda declared necessary for the success of a new religion; and his would succeed, when he had filled with human blood the *khapar* or sacred cup of the malevolent deity': *Calc. Rev.*, 1881, p. 159. *Khapar*—skull.
 99. Khazan Singh, p. 236. But *cf.* p. 277 f.
 100. *Ib.*, pp. 277-8, where an account of Kapur Singh is given which totally negatives the idea that he ever worked a pankha.
 101. G.C. Narang calls it the Taruna dal, p. 126. Neither form is given in Maya Singh's *Punjabi Dicty.*
 102. Its leaders were Dhillon Jats and an Ahluwalia: *ib.*, p. 237. The Dallewalia of the Taru dal appear to be quite distinct from the Dallewalia *misl*.
 103. *Ib.*, p. 239.
 104. Gokal Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 114, citing Muhammad Qasim's *Ibratnama*, p. 51.
 105. *Ib.*, p. 244.
 106. *Ib.*, pp. 247-8.

107. *Hist.*, p. 101. It would appear that Jassa Singh only revived the *dal*, no longer divided, but whether he gave it a new significance cannot be affirmed with any certainty.
108. Cunningham, p. 105. G.C. Narang gives the inscription—
 Sikka zad dar jahan bafazl-i-Akal,
 Mulk-i-Ahmad girift Jassa Kalal,
 Which would give rather a different meaning. He adds that the Sikhs used the old Mughal mint and that Jassa Singh was styled Padshah by his own followers, but the Sikhs never regarded him as such, nor did he claim any superiority over the Khalsa: p. 147. Lepel Griffin says that 'Akal,' not 'Khalsa' is the correct reading, but he points out that no such coins are extant and that the *qazis* and *mullahs* very possibly struck a few to incite Ahmad Shah's resentment against the Sikhs: *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 461.
109. Khazan Singh, p. 252.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
111. *Ibid.*, however gives a different account of the Abdalis' 'lease' of Sirhind Province to the Patiala chief. According to him it was offered by Ahmad Shah in 1765 to the Pathans of Maler Kotla and the chiefs of Raikot, but they refused it owing to their fear of the Sikhs. It was accordingly farmed to Ala Singh with the title of Raja-i-Raja an Mahindar Bahadur and he was at the same time permitted to strike coin in his own name. The Singh chiefs declined to accept *jagirs* offered to them through the Raja. Khazan Singh adds that he was put under a religious for his submission to the Abdali: p. 260.
112. See Griffin's *Rajas of the Punjab* pp. 26, 285-8. For the curious inscription of the coins of Patiala and Jind see pp. 286-7.
113. 'Khazan Singh, p. 264. The *deg*, lit. a big cooking vessel, typifies the earth which produces food for the world: *ib.*, p. 507. Tog Bahadur had disclaimed that designation, saying that he aspired to be called Deg Bahadur or 'the lord of bounty' not 'lord of the sword': *ib.* p. 150. Cf. Cunningham, p. 59, note.
114. Cunningham, p. 111. note.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
116. Macauliffe, indeed, states that the *Gurumatta* was established by Guru Hargovind (*Calc., Rev.* 1881, p. 63), while Cunningham says that perhaps the first regular Gurumatta was held in 1762 when the army of the 'Khalsa' assembled at Amritsar (p. 108), but it is very doubtful whether the Sikhs were strong enough in that year to hold Amritsar in any force. This is, moreover, intrinsically improbable. The Gurumatta, it is most likely, was

founded by Guru Govind Singh in pursuance of his general and well-defined policy, especially in view of the fact that with him the line of the Gurus would end. In 1762 the Sikhs had no known democratic leader and their whole policy was on the verge of a complete reversal, from democratic theocracy to monarchy.

Khazan Singh gives a very different meaning to the term *Gurumatta*. He applies the term to a resolution passed by any assembly of 5 orthodox Singhs, the Guru (Govind Singh) having laid it down that, wherever 5 such Singhs were gathered together the Guru must be considered as present among them, and enjoined that all affairs of State or religion must be considered at such an assembly: p. 265. But he adds, 'all State affairs were carried out by *gurumattas* (resolutions of a cabinet-council) and the resolutions passed were strictly adhered to.'

117. Lepel Griffin: *Law of Inheritance to Sikh Chiefships*, p. 50.
118. Murray's *History of the Punjab*, pp. 131-2.
119. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 253-4.
120. Pirthi Chand, however retained a few followers, called Minas according to Cunningham. *History of the Sikhs*, p. 57 n. His descendants hold Guru Har Sahai in Ferozepore.
121. This is Murray's account—in his *History of the Punjab*, I, 97. Cunningham, however, speaks of Dir Mal as Gurditta's younger son: p. 64 n.
122. Khazan Singh, p. 208.
123. *Pahul* possibly means 'gate.' Gr. *pute*; if this is so, the idea underlying the rite has some striking analogies with the modern Pers. *bab*. But a better explanation is that it means 'whetting,' as a blacksmith hardens soft iron.
124. *Khalsa* for *Khalsa*, Ar: lit. pure, special, free. In India its original meaning was apparently "crown province" or domain: *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty's Translation, II, pp. 746, 767 *bis*, 768 n. *Khalsa* was originally used to denote the followers of Guru Govind as opposed to the *Khalasa*, *i.e.* those Guru Nanak, but this latter term has now fallen almost entirely out of use.
125. Cunningham, p. 112.
126. *Misl* is also an Arabic word, meaning, literally, 'alike' or 'equal.' For the equality among the Sikh Sirdars see Lawrence's *Adventures in the Punjab*, pp. 121, 132 (k).
127. This word is of obscure origin, and various etymologies have been proposed, but it is suggested that it is a corruption of the English word 'recruit.' It occurs at least as early as 1849 in Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (pp. 75 n. and 379) but *lamsar* (from number) appears to have been adopted quite as early by the Sikhs.
128. Not to be confused with the *Dallewalia* of the *Taru Dal*.

129. Khazan Singh justly describes this as a religions rather than a military body: p. 280. It was a militant order of Sikhism. but not to be confused with the Akalis or Nihangs. as G. C. Narang appears to suggest: p. 180. Founded by Dip Singh, a Jat of Pohu in Amritsar, its most prominent member was Sucha Singh.
130. Sometimes called. quite erroneously. the Nagarias.
131. Wynyard's *Ambala Settlement Report*, p. 19 ff.
132. Murray, I, 31.
133. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 113 n.
134. I. N. Q., IV, § 146.
135. Journal of Ind. Art I, p. 29.
136. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion under Banda in Calc. Rev.*, 1881, p. 164 f.
137. *The Sikh Religion under Banda in Calc. Rev.*, 1881, p. 168.
138. *Sikhi* was equivalent to the *dasaundh* or else replaced that tithe, the right to collect which had been abused by the *masandias*.
139. *Guru Nanak*— Guru Nanak did not receive any secular education. The following verses show that he did not attend to lessons taught in school. One day he was asked to write out some Arithmetical tables. He replied:
- “Burn worldly low, grind its ashes and make them into ink, turn the superior intellect into paper.
- Make divine love the pen and the heart the writer: ask the Guru and write his instructions,
- Write God's name, write his praises, write that he hath neither end nor limit,
- O Master ! learn to write this account.
- So that, whenever it is called for a true mark may be found thereon.
- There greatness is obtained, everlasting joys and everlasting delights,
- They in whose hearts is the true name have the mark of it on their brows,
- By God's mercy men obtain it and not by idle words;
- One man cometh, another goeth, we give them great names,
- Some men God created to beg and some to preside over great courts,
- When they have departed they shall know that without the name they are of no account;
- I greatly fear thine anger. O God! my body pineth and wasteth away;
- They who had been called Kings and Lords are beheld as ashes,
- Nanak when men departeth all false affections are surrendered.

Upon this the School-master acknowledged Guru Nanak as a perfect saint and did the homage to him.”

The incident called the *sacha sauda* may also be mentioned:—Kalu, father of Nanak, desired his son to embrace a mercantile life, so he sent him to Chuharkana now in Gujranwala and buy articles for trade. Nanak set out with a servant and on his way met some holy men. He spent all the money in their service, and on his return home when censured by his father he replied that he had done ‘true trade.’

The Guru’s condemnation of the rite of investiture with the *janco* (sacred thread)—

Pandit Hardial, family priest, was invited to perform this ceremony and when all the members of Kalu’s brotherhood were present, Guru Nanak enquired its meaning. The priest explained that the *janeo* was the basis of the Hindu religion and without it a man would remain a Sudra. Hearing this the young Guru uttered the following hymn in the *Asa De war*—

1. Make mercy the cotton, contentment thy thread, continence its knot, truth its twist.,
2. That would make a soul; if thou have it, O Brahman! then put it on me.
3. It will not break, or become soiled, or be burned or lost;
4. Blest the man, O Nanak! who goeth with such a thread on his neck.
5. Thou purchasest a *janeo* for four *damris* and seated in a square putteth it on
6. Thou whisperest instruction that the Brahman is the Guru of the Hindus.
7. Man dieth, the *janeo* fallth off and the soul departeth without it.

The Pandit was angry at this and the Guru then uttered the following:

1. By adoring and praising the Name honour and a true thread are obtained,
2. In this way a sacred thread shall be put on which will not break, and which will be fit for entrance into God’s court.

140. Possibly an allusion to the four *tahhts* of the Sikh Gurus.

7

The Misls

The Misls which existed in Punjab, at the time of Ranjit Singh's accession to power, had been organized during the period of confusion and anarchy that prevailed from 1752 to 1761. And "It must be remembered that these Misls were not deliberately devised or knowingly adopted at one particular time, but were on the other hand, gradually evolved to most certain exigencies of the time."

"Any effective fighting machine must have a single controlling hand, whereas the Sikh doctrines of brotherhood and equality made every chief kick at the idea of subordination. It may be observed generally that where there is theoretical equality, the individual interprets that as meaning that he is as good as his neighbour, but his neighbour is not as good as he. So that chiefs had their followers, but every chief was reluctant to own a superior. Therefore, the members of the 'Misls' were hard fighters very difficult to cope with individually, but at the same time very difficult to organize collectively.'¹

The Khalsa was not a Languid body. The existence of the common danger from beyond the North-West Frontiers, and internally from the disintegrating Mughal power, had kept them together. But after the year 1783, not much was to be apprehended from the North-West, and within the Punjab, the Mughal power had already been thrown into the dust-bin of History.

Gurmata, or the General Central assembly of the Misls was a "curious mixture of Theocracy Democracy and Absolutism."² Yet considered separately, it was none of them. It had already lived the purpose for which it had been organised. Belief in one God, was now

not as much a binding force among the Sardars as in the troublous times it was. The community of faith weakened with the development of personal political ambitions among them. That political brotherhood which had brought them together, had now faded and attendance of the General Assembly became poorer. The religious inspiration having slackened, the only binding force among them now was the common lust for power, but this in turn, brought among them, mutual jealousies and a struggle for ascendancy, as for instance between Bhangis and the Kanheyas. The powerful Sardars wanted to establish their supremacy over the weak ones, which made the latter to seek alliances and protection of those in whom they had faith. But political faith is always a pail without its bottom. Moreover, the system of political alliances brought deeper division among the Sardars, and this coupled with the question of personal glory and power, made confusion worse confounded. Nor was the common man in different Misls, satisfied. After a long period of confusion and chaos, he now wanted protection and security and this could be given only by a strong unified monarchy in the Punjab.³

As early as in 1783, Froster had predicted that "we may see some ambitious chief led on by his genius and success, and absorbing the power of his associates, display from the ruins of the commonwealth, the standard of monarchy." Similar views had been expressed by Warran Hastings in 1784. And this was correct. When Ranjit Singh acceded to power, the theocratic Commonwealth of the sikhs was in ruin and among the individual misls, none was strong enough to challenge Ranjit Singh's power. Nor was there any other power in Punjab which could be a source of any serious menace to Ranjit Singh. The circumstances in which he was born and acceded to power, were thus conducive to the development of his political ambition, as it will be further clarified in the short account that follows.

THE BHANGI MISL

The most important misl on the North-West of the river Sutlej was Bhangi Misl. The Bhangis took their name from their enslavement to bhang, an intoxicating preparation of hemp. The confederacy was founded by Chajja Singh. Their famous leader was Hari Singh, who with his brother Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, making his head-

quarters in Amritsar, had overrun the neighbouring country and captured and held the city of Multan for several years.⁴ At the time of Ranjit Singh's accession to power, the Bhangis still held the important cities of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujarat, and Sialkot. But the Bhangi leaders at this time, were no match to Ranjit Singh. Gulab Singh Bhangi, the most important of them was said to have been too romantic to challenge seriously the rising star. Sahib Singh, the second important leader, whose career had been hitherto marked by energy and enterprise, now became an indolent debauchee and drunkard. He quarrelled with the rival chiefs and Sardars, and, his power being weakened, Ranjit Singh could seize upon all his possessions. Nor were Lehna Singh and Gujar Singh of Lahore strong enough for the job. Invasions of Zaman Shah had weakened them. And tired of their tyranny and mismanagement, the leading citizens of Lahore themselves, according to one account, sent a petition to Ranjit Singh inviting him to come and occupy the city, promising him every help they could give.

THE AHLUWALIA MISL

Nor was the Ahluwalia Misl, though big enough and strong enough, a source of any serious menace to him. The Ahluwalia misl had derived its name from the village Ahlu, five kos to the east of Lahore. Its founder was one Sadhu Singh, a Jat of the Kalal or distiller caste. But the true founder of the confederacy was Jassa Singh. "Fifth in the descent from Sadhu, who was born in 1718 ten years after the death of Guru Govind Singh." When the boy was five years old, Badr Singh, his father died and his widow mother is said to have taken the boy to Mai Sundri, "Widow of Guru Govind Singh.....and the Mai blessed the little boy, and presented him with a silver mace, predicting that he would have mace-bearers to attend them." "The boy soon rose a distinction and was a man of great ability and a successful general in the field. Though never acknowledged by the Sikhs generally as their king, yet was invariably entrusted with the command of the combined forces of the confederacies when a joint action against the enemy was contemplated." His influence among the Sikhs was great, in consequence chiefly of his saintly position and orthodoxy, and the greatest Sardars considered it an honour to be baptized by him. He did more than almost any chief to consolidate the Sikh power.

His possessions were chiefly in the tract of country between the rivers Sutlej and Beas.⁵ But fortunately for Ranjit Singh, he also had died in 1783. He was succeeded by his second cousin, Bhag Singh. He, however, quarrelled with Bhangis and Ramgharias. The Ramgarhia chief, Jassa Singh, allying himself with Sansar Chand Katoch of Kangra, had routed the Ahluwalia forces in 1801, under Hamir Singh. Bhag Singh's own march against the enemy also failed, as he fell ill during the march, and soon after died, leaving his only son, Fetej Singh to succeed him.

Under these circumstances, naturally therefore, when Fateh Singh succeeded to the chiefship of his Misl, he was anxious to form an offensive and defensive alliance with Ranjit Singh. The two young chiefs exchanged turbans, and swore perpetual friendship on the sacred Granth. Although this friendship was signed on the basis of equality, in practice, the diplomatic genius, Ranjit Singh, permitted him to play only a subservient part and used him rather as a stepping stone for the development of his power.

THE RAMGARHIA MISL

The Ramgarhia misl shared the city of Amritsar and the neighbouring districts with the Kanheyas. The Misl had been founded by Khoshal Singh, a Jat of Mauza Guga, in the vicinity of Amritsar. He was a follower of Banda Beragi, from whom he took pahul. After his death Nodh Singh succeeded and after Nodh Singh, Jassa Singh came to power. A very daring and intrepid young man, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, alongwith the Kanheyas, had plundered the Durani camps, ravaged the country far and wide to crush the Muslim power, established military posts and built forts when Khwaja Ubed, the Lahore Governor, had attacked the Sikh fort at Gujranwala. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia played an important part in the battle against the enemy, and a large portion of guns, ammunition and treasures, fell to him, after the enemy had been routed. When driven by the Kanheyas across the river Sutlej, he ravaged the country up to Delhi and on one occasion he penetrated into the very heart of that city, carrying a way four guns from the Mughal quarter. He was paid a tribute by the Governor of Merrut. Later, with Maha Singh's help, his trans Sutlej territories were restored to him, although there could be no lasting friendship between

Ramgarhia and the Sukerchakias. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia was a brave and courageous leader, and he could be an effective hinderance in the way of Ranjit Singh. But here again, fortunately for Ranjit Singh, when he tried to expand his territory, Jassa Singh was an old man, too weak to challenge the Sukerchakia chief. Jassa Singh died in 1816, and was succeeded by his son Jodh Singh. But Jodh Singh was a man of no ambition and activity. His cousin, Dewan Singh, soon encroached upon his territories, and occupied an important part of them. Jodh Singh's son Hira Singh, also proved to be an incompoo., and his possessions were easily seized by Ranjit Singh.

The Kanheyas

The Kanheya Misl which was as important as the Bhangis had been, possessed large parts of the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur. The Misl had been founded by Jai Singh, who came from the Mauza Kanha, 15 miles east of Lahore, from which the Misl got its name. Jai Singh had been a very powerful and influential chief and it was under his guardianship that Maha Singh, the father of Ranjit Singh had grown to power. 'Later, however, Jai Singh became jealous of the growing wealth and influence of Maha Singh and fell out with him, but was defeated and the widow of his son Gurbux Singh, who had been killed in the battle, proposed the betrothal of her only daughter, Mehtab Kaur, to Ranjit Singh, and thus matrimonial relation between the two misls was established. After the death of Jai Singh, Sada Kaur succeeded to the headship of her Misl. "She was a masterful, unscrupulous, and ambitions woman' but she possessed both courage and ability, and on several occasions proved herself a valuable ally to her youthful son-in-law. Her real aim was to render the whole of the Punjab subject to her own dominion; and she sought by keeping Ranjit Singh under her control, to make his power subservient to her plans. But she mistook both the nature and the capabilities of his son-in-law. The lion of the Punjab had no intention of becoming a stepping-stone for others, and Sada Kaur soon found that the role she had designed for him was the very one she was destined to play herself."⁶

To the rest of the Misls, only a passing reference may be made. Singh Puria Misl held portions of Ludhiana, Jullundur, Nurpur, and some northwestern part of the Ambala District. Once this confederacy

was important, and its founder Kapur Singh, played a very important part in the early political history of the Sikhs. He had captured from Faizulla Khan, the village and district of Faizullapur, near Amritsar, which was given by him the name of Singh Pura, after which the Misl itself began to be known as Singhpuria. When, however, he died in 1753 he left no successor competent to bear his name and fame. Though his nephew Khushal Singh and his descendants kept possessions of the territory, they were unimportant and weak.

Nishanias, who get their name from Nishan or banner of the Khalsa, possessed Ambala, Lidran, Shahbad, Amloh, and some other territories. Jai Singh had been its most important chief and now it was a power of no importance.

Karor Singhias, getting their name from Karora Singh, held territories chiefly between the Mukanda and Jamna rivers. It was also unimportant.

The Shahids were rather religious than military leaders. The founder of the Misl was one Sudda Singh, the Mahant of the Gurdwara at Talwandi, or Damdama, where Guru Govind Singh had made his resting-place. "He was killed fighting against the Mohammedan governor of Jullundur and his head having been struck off he is reported to have ridden some distance and killed several of the enemy before he fell from his horse. Hence he was known as the martyr (shahid), and his followers took his name."⁷ The Misl held some estates about Rania, Khari and Jaroli but was unimportant.

Nakkais held the Nakka country between Gogaira and Lahore. Dulewalia Misl was founded by Tara Singh of the village Dulewal, and possessed northern parts of Ludhiana and Ambala, some territory in Ferozepur and major portion of the upper Jullundur Doab. But these powers again, were small and could be easily dealt with.

THE PHULKIAN MISL

The strongest power in the cis-Sutlej regions was the Phulkian Misl. The founder of the Misl was one Phul, a Jat of Sindhu tribe, "thirtieth in descent from Jesal, the founder of the family, and the state and city of Jesalmir, in Rajputana." Phul founded a village at a distance of five miles from Mauza Bedowali or Mehraj, and named it Phul after his own name. Guru Her Govind had prophesied that Phul would some

day become a great man. And this proved to be correct. "Phul had seven sons who became ancestors of the reigning families of Patiala, Jind and Nabha, called after his name the Phulkians. The houses of Bhador, Malod, Landgarhia, and the family of Jiandau, sprang from his issue, and attained to great wealth and power."⁸ At the time of Ranjit Singh's succession to power, however the Phulkian chiefs had been considerably weakened by their mutual jealousies and warfare. Sahib Singh, the ruler of the Patiala house, was the most powerful among them, but he was an unambitious man and an inefficient ruler. Nor did he have a peace in his domestic life. He had a quarrel with his own queen, Aus Kaur, which rather led the latter to invite Ranjit Singh to decide their domestic quarrel.

THE MUSLIM CHIEFS

Besides the Sikh Misls there were some territorial units in the Punjab, which were in the hands of the Muslim chiefs. Multan was being governed by Sadozai chief, Muzaffar Khan, whose father, Shuja Khan, claimed a common descent with Ahamed Shah Abdali. His ancestors had come from Kandhar, and in the confusion which followed the accession of Nadir Shah to the Kabul throne, they occupied Multan.

Twenty-five kos south-east of Lahore, Kasur, the pathan stronghold was governed by Nizamud-din, an ambitious Muslim chief. Dera Ghazi Khan, including Bhawalpur, was ruled by Bhawal Khan Daudpotra. Jhang was under the control of Ahmed Khan Sial. Peshawar was in the hands of Fateh Khan, Barakzai, who acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of Mahmud Shah, and Kashmir was in the hands of his brother Azim Khan. The fort of Attok was in the hands of Jehandad Khan, the chief of Wazir Khels. Other independent chiefs were those of Dhani, Khushab, Wazirabad and Pakpattan. Pakpattan was the seat of the shrine of Baba Farid, in whose honour it is said—

"As long as the earth and the world endure, so long may the country of Pakpattan flourish. For in its environs, which resemble paradise, rests the Saint Sheikh Baba Farid."⁹

Bannu, Kohat, Sialkot, Dera Ismail Khan and Chiniot were also held by the Muslims. Tank was in the hands of Sarwer Khan Kutti Khel. All these powers were hostile powers. But on the whole among

them as well, none was formidable enough to be a source of any danger to Ranjit Singh.

THE HILLS

The plains thus presented to Ranjit Singh, a "gradual and easy means by which the whole might be enveloped within his supremacy." But in the hill regions the things were different. There were many petty chiefs in these regions, who had their own ambitions to expand. The more important of them were the chiefs of Suket, Mandi, Kulu, Basoli, Chamba, Nurpur, Jammu and Kangra. The chief of Kangra, Sansar Chand Kutoch, among them, was the most ambitious man, and he was developing his sway over the rest of them. This could be a possible source of menace to Ranjit Singh, but here too fortunately for him, the things turned out to be rather in his favour.

By developing his hold over the petty chiefs of hill, Sansar Chand made things rather easier for Ranjit Singh. For now if Ranjit Singh wanted to occupy hill regions, he could do so by setting his affairs with Sansar Chand alone. There was no necessity of fighting all the petty chiefs separately and thus wasting time and energy.

GURKHAS

The Gurkhas in Nepal, however could raise complications for Ranjit Singh. They conquered Kumaon, invaded Sikkim and were threatening Tibet. When detected by China in 1792, they began their westward advance annexing Garhwal and Kumaon in 1794, and soon their kingdom stretched from Sikkim to the borders of Kashmir, including within it of course Kumaon and the Shimla Hill States. Bhim Sen Thapa who became Prime Minister of the country early in the 19th century, was a man of very high ambitions. He was not satisfied with the territories that he already had within his state, and it was not after a long time of his succession when he began to aspire for expansion further West. A collision between Nepal and the young State of Ranjit Singh was therefore imminent. But here too, although the situation was more complicated it was not difficult for him to meet it.

THE ENGLISH

The English by this time had fought their fateful battle of Plassy and

established their full sway on Bengal. Their influence was developing on the adjoining states such as Bihar, Agra and Oudh, and they had already exterminated from active Indian politics the formidable power of France. Yet when Lord Wollesley came in India in 1798, the first problem that he had to face, was the rising power of Marathas. Nizam too was no more friendly towards them. They had yet to occupy Delhi, if they wanted to establish their empire in India and proceed towards Punjab and more, the Sikh States of Malwa had to be conquered if the English wanted to touch the eastern frontiers of Ranjit Singh's State. Ranjit Singh, therefore had no immediate challenge from the English to face.

THE MARATHAS

Nor did Ranjit Singh have to meet any challenge from the Marathas. Although by the year 1798, they had huge resources and were controlling practically the whole of Central India, although in 1789, Daulat Rao Sindhia was in the occupation of Delhi and some Maratha chiefs like Dhara Rao had attacked some of the Sikh States of Malwa several times; yet, whatever their ambitions previously might have been, in 1799 they had no ambition to occupy the Punjab.

THE AFGHANS

Another possible challenge that Ranjit Singh could have to meet was from Afghanistan. In 1752 once atleast Ahmad Shah Abdali had annexed Punjab to his Afghan Raj, but Sikhs had forced him to leave. His son Timur tried to re-occupy the country, but failed. In 1783, Shah Zaman came to power in Afghanistan and by 1795 he had invaded Punjab twice and occupied the territories up to Hassan Abdal. He led his third invasion in 1797, occupied Lahore and appointed Ahmad Khan Shahanchi as its governor, though soon to be pushed aside. In 1798, Shah Zaman led his 4th invasion in Punjab, but fortunately for Ranjit Singh, he had to leave the things in a lurch and hurry back to his country, to suppress the rebellion of his half brother Mahmud Zaman. In haste he lost some of his guns in the rising river Jhelum, which it is said, were dug out for him by Ranjit Singh who in return was granted the legal control of Lahore. The story that Lahore was legally granted to Ranjit Singh may be doubted, but it is sure that

at about this time, Ranjit Singh did have a friendly relations with the Afghan Ruler.¹⁰

There were some small but powerful tribes. Between Jhelum and Indus there were many individual Zamindars or warlike clans organised on feudal basis, such as Gakhars of Jhelum, Maliks of Shahpur and Baluchis of Sahiwal. But the total number of their armed retenues, which could be doubled in time of emergency, was not more than 3,000 men.

The Punjab was thus a congeries of small, states and other warring groups open to the adventures of unambitious man, when Ranjit Singh came to power. He was lucky. His environment shaped his handiwork, "the country—on the line of invasion, the people—a race nurtured in storm."¹¹

REFERENCES

1. Sir Charles Gough, 'The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars', p. 28.
2. Ibbetson—Glossory of Castes and Tribes.
3. See Griffin, pp. 83-5.
4. See Griffin, p. 79.
5. Griffin 78-9; Latif, 313-16.
6. Payne, pp. 72-3.
7. Griffin, pp. 82-3.
8. Latif, p. 325.
9. Latif, p. 351.
10. See *infra*, pp. 31-3.
11. Sinha, Ranjit Singh, p. 2.

8

The Military Administration

'A Sikh means a soldier', wrote Ibbetson defining the Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh, and in 1911, when Griffin was called upon to define what this soldier was, he wrote "Hardy, brave, and of intelligence too slow to understand when he is beaten, obedient to discipline, devotedly attached to his officers, and careless of the caste prohibitions which render so many Hindu troops difficult to control and to feed on active service, he is unsurpassed as a soldier in the East."

A. The Tradition

History of this great soldier starts with that of Guru Nanak, but to start with he was only a saint. It was the tragic end of the 5th Guru, which shook him from his saintly meditations. The sixth Guru gave him a military discipline; thus converting him into a great saint-soldier. A tradition of self-sacrifice was given him by the 9th Guru who for the cause of the nation, laid down his life at Delhi. The baptism of the 10th Guru fired the Sikh with a "burning and consuming passion for political freedom," and he was now converted from Sikh into Singh, or a lion. The sacrifice of the four sons of Guru Gobind Singh, taught him further as to how he should sacrifice his home and hearth for a cause. The exploits of Banda Bahadur in the Punjab, strengthened his taste for victories against a big power like that of the Imperial Mughals. He learnt technique of the Guerilla war-fare from Abdali's attempts to suppress him and thus by the time Ranjit Singh acceded his throne, his tradition as 'an invincible warrior, who could sacrifice his all for a cause,' was fully established.

Yet, however, the Sikhs had not learnt the discipline of an organised army. The chaos that ensued after the death of

Banda Bahadur, had converted them into a turbulent and independent individuals "who had been accustomed to carry their swords from one leader to another as they saw the best chance of plunder, and who changed their masters as often as it suited their inclination or convenience."¹ It rested only with Ranjit Singh, who proved his military genius by converting this confused mass of invincible warriors, with rich tradition of sacrifice and victories, into a powerful, disciplined and well equipped army under an efficiently organised leadership. For, the Maharaja's dealings with the English had made it "abundantly clear that if the Sikh State was to subsist at all, it would have to be strengthened both militarily and politically."²

The Reorganisation under Ranjit Singh

The Maharaja's army, as reorganised by him, consisted of three different sections, i.e. Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, which may be discussed as follows.

B. The Infantry

At the beginning, the infantry soldier was considered inferior to cavalry, and was, says Griffin, in time of war left behind to garrison forts, or to look after the women.³ But under the influence of European officers, Ranjit Singh realised that infantry was more important than cavalry, and it was not long before that, by good pay and personal attention, and under General Venture's introduction of alert obedience, long enduring fatigue and other qualities, the infantry became the most efficient standing army of Ranjit Singh.

Recruitment into the Maharaja's infantry forces, was entirely voluntary, but the service being attractive for the emoluments and adventures that it offered, people joined it willingly. The regular drilling system that was introduced by the Maharaja, after the European manner however, was not liked by the soldiers in the beginning who termed it contemptuously as 'Ruqs Looluan,' or 'ballet steps'! Later on, however, as it became a regular part of the training system, the soldiers gave in.

In its organisation, the Infantry consisted of battalions, as administrative units. The battalion consisted of 900 strong, and was commanded by a Commandant. The Commandant was assisted by an

Adjutant and a Major. The battalion was divided into 8 companies of about 100 each, and a company was further divided into 4 sections each of which consisted of 25 men, who were commanded by a. officer known as a Havildar. The Havildar was assisted by a Naik.

Besides Havildar and Naik at the lowest grade, the other important officers of the company from the highest downward were, Subedar, Jamadar and Sarjan (Sergeant). Phuriya, Bugler and a Trumpeter complete the list.

The battalion was a part of regiment, of which clerks kept account. Men lived in barracks and each Regiment carried with it a copy of Guru Granth. The important regimental officers were, commandant, Adjutant, Major, Writer, Accountant, and a Granthi. Besides, it had its camp followers such as, camel drivers smiths, *baidars* and cooks.

It was for the first time that the system of regular monthly salaries was introduced by Ranjit Singh. Prior to him, the Sikh soldiers had always depended upon loot and plunder of their enemy. But this they got only when the forces marched for battles and expeditions. Otherwise, each soldier was supposed to have his own individual source of regular income for livelihood. Under Ranjit Singh, however, the system changed. The monthly salary of a General was from Rs. 400 to Rs. 460. A commandant got from Rs. 60 to Rs. 150 and a sepoy from Rs. 7 to Rs. 8½.

The Infantry soldiers marched to the beat of drum. Their word of command, as introduced by the French officer Vantura was in French. Their movement was swift and well organised and besides the regular parades that they had, a general parade of the entire army was held annually on Dussehra in Lahore or Amritsar, which was inspected by Ranjit Singh. Their flag was of Saffron colour and their war cry 'Sat Sri Akal!' "Their endurance was very great, and a whole regiment would march 30 miles a day for many days together," thus wrote Griffin.⁴

Again, commenting upon their courage and fortitude, wrote Burton, a traveller who visited Punjab in 1836. They are "thin men with good features: they are capable of bearing the fatigue of long marches for several days in succession so that it has become a by-

word that the Punjabis have iron legs. On their marches, they encamp very regularly, and I saw 30,000 men, the army of Peshawar which moved with as much facility as a single regiment on this side (the British) of the Sutlej. No wheeled carriage is allowed, and their own bazars contain all they require.”⁵

Similar words of appreciation were used by Osborne, who visited Punjab in 1839. Tall, “rather slight, but very mainly looking men, with great length of limb, and broad open chests. They are hardly far beyond the generality of natives, and seem a merry, light-hearted race of people.”⁶ Captain Wade “could not help remarking the cheerful alacrity with which the Sikhs seemed to endure the fatigue.”⁷ And Baron Van Hugel was rather “surprised to find his (Ranjit Singh’s) troops so proficient in European tactics.”⁸

Yet, however, there were shortcomings in this part of the Maharaja’s army. “On parade,” thus wrote Burton, “they give utterances to abusive expressions, striking freely any of a rank inferior to their own. The commandant canes the adjutant, who in turn strikes the officers at the heads of ‘companies’ who again vent their ill humour on the non-commissioned and privates.”⁹

The drum and fife and bugle were in general use in the Sikh infantry regiments, “and in some of the favourite royal corps of Ranjit Singh an attempt was made to introduce band of music,” writes Steinbach, “but a graft of European melody upon Punjanbee discord did not produce, as may be imagined, a very harmonious result.”

The total strength of the Maharaja’s Infantry in 1811, was 4,061, but in 1845, six years after his death, it was found to be 70,721. It is not clear whether the whole of this increase took place during his life time or after.

C. The Cavalry

The cavalry of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was divided into three classes, which were as follows.

(1) *Regular Cavalry*. It was a body of picked men and horses. Fine in appearance, equipment and discipline, this body got a regular training after the European manner. It was kept under a French General named Jean Francois Allard, who had been engaged by the Maharaja

in 1822. Its strength in 1831 was 1,209. In 1838, it numbered 4090; but by 1845 it increased to 6,235.

2. *Ghor Charah*. This was another class of Ranjit Singh's cavalry, which unlike the Regular cavalry, got no regular training. Nor was it disciplined in any military code. It was organised on the model of the Khalsa army of the Mislis, which believed rather in dash and reckless courage than in any regular procedure of offence or defence. It was paid directly by the State. The payment in the beginning was made in Jagirs to the value of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 per trooper a year. Later on, however, cash payments became regular, which varied between Rs. 250 and Rs. 300 a year. A fresh recruit, who entered into this service, had to make his own arrangement for a horse, but in the case of his being unable to do so, he was provided with necessary equipment by the State, against a deduction from his salary in easy installments.

Griffin, while comparing the Maharaja's Infantry with his Cavalry, writes at one place: "In the Maharaja's army the infantry were the pick of the youths of the country; only the handsomest and strongest were selected, while the cavalry were irregular troops, the contingents of his different Sirdars, and not appointed for any consideration of bravery or strength. The horses were small, weak and ill—bred, and he accouterments were of the roughest and coarsest kind."¹⁰ But this assertion of Griffin that the horses of the Maharaja's cavalry were "small, weak and ill-bred," does not seem to be born out by the other sources of our information. Leaving aside the regular cavalry even in the Ghorcharah cavalry we learn the lean and thin horses were not tolerated. Some sort, of regular inspection of these horses was made, and sometimes, we learn, when a horse was found to be lean, a deduction was made from the salary of its owner, as a mode of punishment for his negligence.

"By their desperate courage the Ghorcharahs, thus wrote Moorecroft about them, "had earned for themselves a name and for Ranjit Singh a kingdom."¹¹

The Ghorcharha cavalry, we learn, was further divided into two classes. (1) The Ghorcharhas Khas. It comprised of one regiment, the troopers for which were recruited from among those of the nobility of

the province. (2) Misaldar Sawars. They belonged originally to independent chieftains of the Punjab, on whose overthrow, they transferred their services to the Maharaja.

(3) *Jagirdari Cavalry*. These were the number of troopers maintained by jagirdars, who according to the terms of their respective agreements with the Maharaja were, when required, bound to furnish him with efficient and well-equipped troopers. These jagirdars presented their troopers for the Maharaja's review in the general parade on every Dushehra.

The Maharaja made some strict rules against corruption in the Jagirdari Cavalry. Every Jagirdar was bound to deposit a regular descriptive roll regarding his contingent in the State Record Office, on the good condition of which depended the renewal of his Jagir. Even a person like Hari Singh Nalwa could not escape punishment in case of his negligence in the matter, and he, according to Sohan Lal, was fined Rs. 2 lakh, for keeping less than the stipulated number of troopers.

(4) *Akalis* were some irregular regiments of the Maharaja, employed on "any dangerous, or desperate service."¹² With naked swords, two in hands and two in belts, with a match-lock at their back and two pairs of quoits round their turbans, they dashed about unafraid.¹³ With Akali Phula Singh as their leader, they were two to three thousands in number. They hated Europeans and Pathans and Ranjit Singh himself, writes Steinback, "On more than one occasion narrowly escaped assassination by them."¹⁴ At certain places, Griffin does not have very good words regarding them. "The Maharaja," he writes, "was afraid to interfere too closely with these men; for though little better than drunken savages, they were supposed by the Sikhs to possess a semi-sacred character, and were, moreover, useful when desperate deeds were to be done which the rank and file of the army might have declined.....they were identical in character and in the manner of their onslaught with the Ghazis of Afghanistan and the Soudan, whose fierce and terrible attack shakes the nerves of all but the steadiest and most seasoned troops; but the Sikh soldiers of God drew their courage more from drink and maddening drugs, than from the depths of religious enthusiasm which inspires the wild children of Islam."¹⁵ Steinbach, too, holds the similar views regarding them.¹⁶ Yet,

however, these European writers seem to have erred in not understanding that these people drew their inspiration from Amritsar of which they were supposed to be custodians. A dip into the sacred tank, and an Akali was no more a man, but a lion. Bhang, the drink was though a weakness with him, yet an Akali was moralist, who kept the torch of the Khalsa faith alight with its bravest spirits as enjoined by Guru Gobind Singh. Whenever, he fought, he fought not for a material prize or for some wordly honour, he fought for a cause, which was ever dear to him more than even his own life.

D. Fauj-i-Qilajat

Besides all this, the Maharaja had in his service about 10,800 men who garrisoned the important forts like those of Multan, Peshawar, Kangra and Attock. An average pay of a garrison infantry soldier was Rs. 6 per month, the Jamadar receiving Rs. 12 or more. Every for was placed under the charge of an officer, called Thanedar. The code of conduct for the men who garrisoned forts, was very strict. None of them could be addicted to wine, nor could the dancing girls be permitted inside a fort. In order further to see that their immoral or lethargic habits be curbed, it was strictly required of these soldiers that none could spend upon himself an amount of money more than one half of the total of his monthly pay. The rest of the money had to be remitted home regularly. Nor could a garrison soldier have dishonest dealings with a shopkeeper, nor a clash with any of the neighbouring civil population.

E. The Artillery

Ranjit Singh, thus wrote Osborne in 1839, "is very proud of the efficiency and admirable condition of his artillery, and justly so, for no native power has yet possessed so large and well disciplined a corps."¹⁷

Again, writes Lieutenant Barr about the Maharaja's gunners. "The orders were given in French.....we then tried some of his fuzes, which are very good.....All the shots were formed of beaten iron, and cost a rupee each, and the majority of shells were composed of pewter.....it is a matter almost of wonder to behold the perfection to which he (General Court) has brought his artillery."

The artillery of the Maharaja was divided into four classes—

1. *Top Khana Fili*, or Elephant Batteries.
2. *Top Khana Shutri* or Camel Swivels, also called Zamburaks.
3. *Top Khana Aspi* or Horse Batteries.
4. *Top Khana Gavi* or Bullock Batteries.

The Sikhs before Ranjit Singh, however were not given very much to the use of artillery. It was therefore difficult for the Maharaja to find leaders for his artillery from among the Punjabis. Some Europeans, such as General Court and Gardener, were therefore especially invited to officer the artillery. Later on, however, the persons like Lehna Singh rose up and distinguished themselves in the profession. This man, according to Griffin, was an original inventor, who cast many a beautiful gun. Mian Qadir Bakhsh was another important man in the line. He was sent by the Maharaja to Ludhiana at State expenses, to receive a training in gunnery. After getting this training, he wrote a book on the subject.

Each of the Maharaja's guns had its own name, such as 'Fateh Jung'. Some of them bore Persian inscriptions and some the word 'Sri Akal Sahai', which means 'God be Our Help.' Most of the workshops for the casting of the guns were situated in Lahore, the more important of them being within the fort itself.

The total number of guns in the possession of the Maharaja, writes Steinback, was 176. The total number of swivels being 370.¹⁸

F. Manufacture of Weapons

Lahore, as discussed above, was a very important seat of the manufacture of guns. But besides guns; spears, swords, matchlocks and pistols were also manufactured in this city. Some of these weapons were manufactured at some other places as well. The best armours, including helmets, coats of mail, shields, breast-plates and gauntlets came from Multan, Jammu, Srinagar and Amritsar. Kashmir supplied the best artisans for the purpose. But later on under the supervision of the officers such as Faqir Nur-ud-din, Dr. Honigherger and Lehna Singh Majithia, the number of the trained craftsmen among the Punjabis themselves, began to increase.

G. General Survey of Army

Taking an over all view, the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh could be divided into three parts.

1. Fauj-i-Khas or Special Brigade

This brigade was trained after the European manners, and it fought generally in the frontier wars Commanded by General Ventura, this Brigade, according to Griffin, consisted of

Regular Infantry	3176
Regular Cavalry	1667
Artillery with 34 guns	<u>855</u>
	5698

“The Infantry force,” further writes Griffin, “included the Khas battalion, strength 820 men; a Gurkha battalion, 707 men; Deva Singh’s battalion, 839 men; and the Sham Sota battalion, 810 men.

“The Cavalry force was composed of a grenadier regiment, strength 730 men; a dragon regiment, 750 men; and a troop of life guards, 187 men.

“The artillery was the corps known as that of Ilahi Bakhsh, and was commanded by a Mussalman general of that name, the best officer in the Sikh army.”¹⁹

2. Fauj-i-Ain or Regular Army

Unlike the Akalis and Jagirdari soldiers, this force was organised by the State and was regular. According to Khalsa Darbar Record I, its number in 1838, was 38,242. It consisted of the followings:

Infantry	29,617
Cavalry	4,090
Artillery	<u>4,534</u>
	38,241

3. Fauj-i-Beqwaid or Irregular Force

It consisted of Akalis and Jagirdari force, etc; which was all irregular, as discussed above.

The total annual expense incurred by the Maharaja in the payment of his regular army, as according to Shahmat Ali was:

	Rupees
Infantry	28,09,200
Cavalry	24,53,656
Horse Artillery	3,24,864
Irregular Sowars	72,08,562
Total Rupees	<u>1,27,96,482</u>

But, continues Shahmat Ali, "A great many deductions are made from the pay of the troops, which reduce the actual expenditure considerably."²⁰

H. Regimental Dress

There existed no infantry before Ranjit Singh, as discussed above. A common trooper in the service of a misl chief wore a turban and a pair of short drawers. The sleeves of his shirt were usually open, and his slippers tight fitting. Under Ranjit Singh, however, some changes took place.

Under the Maharaja, thus wrote Steinback, "The costume of the regular infantry is scarlet, with different coloured facings, to distinguish regiments, as in the British service. The trousers are of blue linen' the head dress is a blue turban, with one end loose, and spread so as to entirely cover the head, back of the neck, and shoulders; the belts are of black leather, the arms a musket and bayonet, the manufacture of Lahore."²¹

The regular cavalry man, or a dragoon; wore a helmet or steel cap, round which "shawl or scarf" was folded. This scarf, or better, the turban, was usually of crimson silk. A dull red jacket, the trousers of dark blue silk with red stripe, a pair of black belts—one supporting a pouch and the other a bayonet, were the distinguishing features of his dress. Round his waist he fastened a Kamarband. His carbine slung across his back but rested in a bucket fastened to the saddle. The dress of the officers, from top to toe, was of silk, and they were armed only with a sabre. "The regular troops" writes Griffin, "were much less picturesque than the Jagirdari horse. Their dress was a close imitation

of the scarlet uniforms worn by the British army, singularly ungraceful on native troops."²²

The uniform of the 'Ghorcharas', as according to Baron Van Hugel, "consisted of a velvet coat or gabardine over which most of them wore a shirt of mail.... a belt round the waist, richly embroidered in gold, supported the powder-horn, covered with cloth of gold as well as the Persian Katar and the pistol, which many of them carried, in addition to those weapons. Some wore a steel helmet, inlaid with gold, and surmounted with Kalga or black heron's plume; others wore a cap of steel, worked like a cuirass in rings. The left arm is often covered from and to the elbow with a steel cuff inlaid with gold. The round Sikh shield hangs on the back, fastened with straps across the chest, a quiver at the right side, and a bow slung at the back being carried as part of the equipment; a bag made in the belt holds the balls and a tall bayonet, frequently ornamented with gold, held in the right hand when the man is on foot, and carried over the shoulder, when in the saddle, completes the dress."²³

The uniform of the irregular cavalry men consisted besides armour, spears and shields, the dresses of every colour. There was no uniformity. "Some wore a shirt of mail, with a helmet, inlaid with gold and a Kalgi or heron's plume, others were gay, with the many coloured splendours of velvet and silk, with pink or yellow muslin turbans, and gold embroidered belts, carrying their sword and powder—horn. All wore at the back, the small round shield of tough buffalo hide. The magnificent horsemen were armed, some with bones and arrows but the majority with match locks, with which they made excellent practice." "The irregular levies and jagirdari contingents were the picturesque element in the Maharaja's reviews."²⁴

The Artilleryman wore red turban, black waist with cross belts and scabbard ornamented in brass, long boots and white trousers. The bodyguards of the Maharaja dressed differently, in a cloth of scarlet or yellow colours. Yellow satin was generally used in their uniforms, and shawls or scarfs formed a major feature of their uniform.

I. No Racial Bias

One of the most cordinal features of his army administration was, the Maharaja's efforts to secure expert hands for the training and

command of his soldiers without any racial, religious or national bias. Besides Indians and the Punjabis, the Maharaja's army, as according to Gordner, included officers—Italians, Frenchmen, Americans, Englishmen, Anglo—Indians, Spaniards, Greeks and Russians. The total number of these European officers in the Maharaja's army, according to the British record, was 20. Carmichael Smyth's list, however, counts 39 names, whereas Gordner gives the number 42. At the head of these foreign officers, writes W.L. M'Gregor, "are Generals Ventura and Allard; the former is an Italian by birth, the latter a Frenchman. Both arrived in the Punjab about the same time, and they have always been on the best terms with each other."²⁵

The agreement entered into by Generals Ventura, Allard, and other European army officers, according to Grey and Garrett, was "to domesticate themselves in the country by marriage, not to eat beef, not to smoke tobacco in public; to permit their beards to grow, to take care not to offend against Sikh religion, and if required, to fight against their own country."²⁶

European Distrusted by People

Although, in the army of the Maharaja, battalions trained in European fashion, existed since 1807, regular introduction of European officers seems to have taken place much later, Allard and Ventura, according to an account joined in 1822. The presence of these European officers was not liked by the Indian soldiers in the beginning, and even the heir—apparent, prince Kharak Singh, did not take upon them with any favour, yet as the time passed, the distrust of the people waned and the European officers seem to have given a good account of their capabilities to mould themselves according to their environment.

Towards the closing years of his life, however, Ranjit Singh's notions regarding the value of their services seemed to have changed, and he, thus writes M'Gregor, "either fancies that he can dispense with them altogether, or what is more probable, he grudges the pay which every gentlemen resorting thither expects for his services."²⁷ The general people too did not look upon them with friendly eyes. The chaos that followed Ranjit Singh's death, made their lives precarious. Col. Foulker an English officer, was murdered, the houses of Generals Court and Ventura were plundered, and they all fled the country.

I. THE GENERAL STANDARD

The general standard of the Maharaja's army has been commented upon variously by various writers.

Some of the shortcomings in the system pointed out by some writers were that a portion of Ranjit Singh's military strength consisted of the aggregate of irregular contingents raised and commanded by Jagirdars." The men brought up to the standards by each great Jagirdar looked to him as their personal chief and were, therefore, less loyal to the Maharaja." Moreover these jagirdars did not keep their soldiers and their animals in proper condition, and although the Maharaja did keep a strict watch upon them and even men of the status of Hari Singh Nalwa could not escape punishment in case of being guilty of neglect in the matter, the Maharaja himself considered this part of the army only less reliable than the regular contingents.

Thus writes Griffin regarding the irregular and jagirdari contingents. These were the picturesque element in the Maharaja's views. Many of the men were well-to-do country gentlemen, the sons, relations, or clans-men of the chiefs who placed them in the field and maintained them there, and whose personal credit was concerned in their splendid appearance."²⁸

The regiments of Akalis have been mentioned above. There is no doubt that despite their indisciplined and untamed habits, the Maharaja was able to make a good use of them. But his successors less capable and less informed, had a hell of job with them.

In fact the army as a whole, had never been taught to be subservient to civil authorities. During his life, time, the Maharaja had always been busy in wars and conquests, and therefore the military officers and military leaders gathered more importance than the civilians did. Had Ranjit Singh lived to see the days of comparatively more peace and tranquillity, the supremacy of the civilians over the army men might have been established. But this did not happen, and the results after his death were natural, as Payne writes: "The army of the Khalsa was now, to all intents and purposes, a self-governing body. Its affairs were conducted by panchayats or councils of "five" representing each company, and elected by the soldiers themselves."²⁹

Nor did there exist a regular system of payments to the soldiers. "More men were kept at hand, in particular cases, than could be easily paid for and it was the habit to stave off payment by some expedient or other."

According to a contemporary, "No pensions were, or are, assigned to the soldiery for long service, nor is there any provision for the widows and the families of those who die, or are killed in the service of the state, Promotions, instead of being the sight of the good soldier in order of seniority or the reward of merit in the various grades is frequently effected by bribery. In higher ranks, advancement is obtained by the judicious application of the *douceur* to the plam of the favourites at court, or the military chieftains about the person of the Sovereign."

"Only the European officers were handsomely paid." But during his last year Ranjit Singh began to distrust—they, and some of them actually played the part of traitors to the Lahore Government. Moreover, the Sardars were always jealous of them, and most of them were dismissed during the anarchy that ensued after Ranjit Singh.

There was no uniform dress, which varied from one part of the army to the other. And moreover men of different nationalities and different racial affiliations had been recruited in the Maharaja's army. While magnetic influence of the Maharaja was able to keep them together after his death they were bound to go different ways.

According to some, the westernisation of the army rather weakened it, instead of strengthening, and that was the reason that this army of the Sikhs, with the help which Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Bahadur fought against Imperial Mughals with high credit in the days of Mughal glory and fame, could not inspire the Maharaja with a courage to fight the British.

But despite all the shortcomings in the Maharaja's military organisation, we will have to judge its merit only in the battlefield. Thus writes Sir Charles Gough the British Commander-in-Chief who fought their first battle against the Sikhs. "It has been said—and the words undoubtedly contain a general truth—that among non-European peoples the most successful opponents of British arms have been those who, like Hyder Ali and Holkar, made no attempt to adopt alien

methods of fighting, but held to their own native habits, conducting a guerilla warfare on a huge scale avoiding pitched battles, and easily rallying their forces after a contest. Nevertheless the struggle with the Sikhs seems to present an exception to the rule..... The Sikh soldierly fought with a discipline and stubbornness unequalled in our experience of native warfare; and their doing so was largely due to the methods introduced by Ranjit Singh. And again he writes: "The Sikhs were better adapted to learn and to assimilate the European methods of fighting than any other native population."¹⁰

Referring to the "terrible courage" of Sikh troops at Sobraon, wrote Sir Charles Gough to Sir Robert Peel, the British Prime Minister: "Policy precluded me from publicly recording my sentiments on the splendid gallantry of our fallen foe, or to record the acts of heroism displayed, not only individually but almost collectively by the Sikh Sirdars and army, and I declare, were it not from a deep conviction that my country's good required the sacrifice, I could have wept to have witnessed the fearful slaughter of so devoted a body of men."³¹

"Certain it is that there would have been a different story to tell, if the 'body of men' had not been commanded by traitors."³² Ranjit Singh, as according to Sinha, had indeed "transformed a rabble of horsemen into the most efficient fighting machine."³³

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9

Socio-Cultural Movements in the Punjab

There were special conditions in the Punjab during the later half of the 19th Century, which led to the organisation in the Province of several socio-cultural movements. For centuries together, the brave and illustrious people of the Punjab had lived a life only of tumult and commotion. But when a strong hand of the British, had settled itself upon the country, the only possible outlet for their aspirations and expression was the organisation of peaceful movements, aiming only at social and cultural development of the people. Moreover, as the time passed, the liberal ideas of the West had their way into the country. Industrial revolution was taking place in England. The newly brought out British literature drank deep into the plans for liberal and cultural developments in that country. And not few of this country who visited England were inspired and enthused with this spirit of the west and brought its affect in their own motherland. The new schools and other educational institutions, established in the Punjab, after its annexation, also played their part, in bringing the people closer to English thought and literature. Much of the enthusiasm shown by the British regime and their reforming zeal, had slackened after the Mutiny. But the initiative had been taken, and the people took the charge in their own hands.

Many important movements were thus organised, some of which originated in the province itself, while others travelled into it from other parts of India. Majority of these movements had a programme of reconstruction in social and religious spheres. In majority of the cases, religion was the basic source of inspiration, and this was very much natural too. When the well-meaning people of this country came in

contact with the glories of the western thought, lest they felt inferior, they had to dig for glories in their own past, and bring them to surface. The subject remained Indian, while the affect was western and the product in majority of the cases, therefore, was a mixture of the two; in one case the balance going towards one side, while in another towards the other.

A—MOVEMENTS AMONG THE HINDUS

Consistent with the fact that Hinduism was a social rather than a religious system, "whereas Islam tended to develop the old sects and throw off new ones, Hinduism confined its activity mainly to the semi-social movements."¹

BRAHMO SAMAJ—I

Of the various movements among the Hindus, which originated or travelled into the province, the first was the Brahma Samaj. The movement had been founded in Bengal in 1828, by Raja Ram Mohun Rai, "the pioneer of all living-advance, religious, social and educational in the Hindu community during the nineteenth century." Born in 1771, in his early years, the Raja fell under the influence of Christian Missionaries, and in 1820, published a remarkable book "the Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to peace and Happiness," in which he declared that he found "the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles and better adapted for the use of rational beings than any other which have come to my knowledge." The influence of the Christian Missionaries. However; could not hold the Raja for long. Soon after, he developed a controversy with them, and not being satisfied with his newly adopted faith; he came back to Hinduism, and founded the Brahma Samaj. He died in 1833.

The Samaj introduced itself in the Punjab only after the Mutiny. A branch of the Samaj was established at Lahore in 1864, and by 1872, it had its own temple in Anarkali.

Their Principles and Methods

The prayers of the Brahmans were somewhat after English Church, and were addressed to Brahma, the one God, the chief purport being that all, including Hindus, Christians and Mohammedans might be

converted to Him and become Brahmos. The Brahmos were said to have been opposed to Vedas and all scriptures which could be interpreted to support polytheism. They did not believe in transmigration and they condemned idol worship. Nor did they believe in caste system. No body was born high or low, it was only one's action which made him one or the other.

In their social programme, the Brahmos did all that they could, to advance education in the country. They believed in freedom of thought and expression, and journalistic freedom was one of their most cardinal principles.

The Movement, however, could not find much success in the Punjab. It was confined only to Lahore and Shimla, and at these places too, it seems to have been overwhelmed and absorbed by Arya Samaj.²

CHET RAMIS—II

The movement was founded by a person named Chet Ram, in 1865. Born at Sharakpur in Lahore District, in 1835, Chet Ram was a man of very little education, being able to read and write only Lunda characters. He died in 1895, after which, his daughter was installed on the '*Gadi*'.

The movement, in its beliefs and doings, depicted a strange influence of Christianity. Its founder, Chet Ram, had an implicit faith in Christ as the only God. And his disciples were to wear a copy of Bible, each round his neck. They also carried, each, a long rod with a cross at its head. The front portion of the horizontal part of the rod, carried the inscription:

'Help; O Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, God! Read the Bible and the Gospels for salvation—(Chet Ramis)'

The Chet Ramis usually belonged to poorer classes of the province, and were met with in Ferozepur, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Montgomery districts. According to the dictation of the founder, forty of his followers were always to persist upon alms and preach about the teachings of their faith. They were to remain celibate all their lives.

The number of the followers of Chet Ram, seemed to be increasing in the first quarter of the 20th century. But the caste

prejudices of those who joined the movement remained intact. The Mohammedan converts did not mix up with the Hindu converts.

THE ARYA SAMAJ—III

A short distance from the Northwestern coast of the Indian Peninsula, Dayanand the founder of the movement was born in 1824, in the prosperous town of Marvi, in Kathiawar. His father, a Brahmin of the highest order, held a respectable post in the Government of the State and was "a rigid, austere Brahmin, thoroughly orthodox and uncompromising in his religious beliefs and practices.....His mother, on the other hand, was the personification of sweetness, gentleness, and goodness."³

Education of Dayanand, whose original name was Mul Shankar, commenced when he was five years of age, and he was invested with the sacred thread in his eight year. His father himself assumed the role of a teacher for him, but the son seemed to have been a born rebel, against the authority of his father, and it was the father's piously-intended insistence, upon his son's observing the fast of Shivratri, which turned the son "into the most virulent and successful opponent of image-worship of his time," at the age of fourteen. Death of his beloved sister, had turned the young boy's attention towards investigation into the mysteries of birth and death. Death of his beloved uncle, who had rocked him in his lap, often times, distracted him at the age of nineteen, and he was told on his anxious enquiries, that *yogabhyas* was the method, by which he could understand the mystery. But the *yoga*, as he understood, could not be mastered till he left his home.

Father of the boy, already having reason to suspect the workings of his son's mind, decided to weave a web of affection round him but Dayanand resisted his parent's plan with determination and declined to be married. The marriage was postponed for a year, at the intercession of friends. The boy's proposal that he should be sent to Kashi, the Rome of Hindus, for further education, having been rejected, he was sent to a learned theologian, in a neighbouring village, for the purpose. But this could not satisfy the boy, who was recalled, and the day for his wedding fixed. But a week or so before the fixed date, the boy fled from home, and became a *Sadhu*. He was soon, however

traced out and imprisoned under a strong guard. The same night, the boy succeeded once again in escaping, and this time for good, never seeing his father again.

After leaving the home, the second time assuming the ochre-coloured garments and changing his name, for full fifteen years, "from 1845 to 1860, young Dayananda wandered North; South, East, and West, almost all over India, in pursuit of knowledge and truth.....In search of teachers of fame and yogis of merit he penetrated into the innermost recesses of the Himalayas..... He crossed and recrossed the valleys of the noblest of Indian rivers, Ganges, the Jamuna, and the Narbadda, and mounted the highest accessible tops of the hills near or in the vicinity of the sources of those rivers.⁴ It was here that he delved deep into the mysteries of the nature. After studying for over thirty years, he acquired finishing touches to his education when he waited for two years and a half on Virja Nanda, a master spirit.

After this he entered into public life, visiting some of the most important towns of what is now known as U.P., preaching and teaching about his philosophy. It was on April 10, 1875, that he founded the movement, establishing the first Arya Samaj at Bombay. At Lahore, the Samaj was established in 1877, and it was this place which became its centre and where its principles received their final shape. From 1877 to 1883, Swami Dayanand spent his time in "preaching and teaching and writing books, as well as in establishing and organising Arya Samajes throughout India." He met with the greatest success in Punjab, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Rajputana and Gujarat. Like Brahmo Samaj, Daya Nand's speeches were delivered in Hindi. The Swami finished the compilation of his *Satyarath Prakash* in 1874. For sometime, there was a talk between him and Madame Blavatsky, the founder of the Theosophical Society, for a union between the two societies. But it failed. The Swami died on October 30, 1883, at Ajmer, as a result of the slow affect of a subtle poison, administered to him mixed in his food, by a Muslim concubine of Maharana Sajjan Singh of Jodhpur. The Swami had gone there as invited by the Maharana, and had taken a strong exception to his living with this concubine.

A note may here be added regarding some general beliefs of the Swami, on the basis of which, the principles of the Samaj were drawn.

The Swami believed that some persons might have more of the divine in them in proportion to what others have. But this should in no way mean that they are same as God. In fact, he held, no man is infallible, however exalted he may be. The only approved forms of worship, according to him, are Stuti—contemplation, Prarthna—Communion and Upasana—Prayer. And the only approved form of expiation is repentance with a determination not sin again. The Swami believed in Karma, and therefore in transmigration. He believed in Fate only as much as confounded with the doctrine of Karma, and not beyond that. The man has the power, if he has the will, to make or unmake his destiny. Although due respect should be given to the living parents, there is no need of ancestorworship. Vedas are infallible and inexhaustible source of all knowledge. The Swami did not believe in polytheism, nor did he have a belief in pantheism. Yet he believed that although God was distinct from the world, he was immanent in it as the principle of its life and existence. God never incarnates though Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, etc., who are only Devtas, do. He had no belief in the mythology of Puranas and condemned caste system, which according to him, had been a source of many other evils in the Hindu society. Nobody is born Brahman or born Sudra. Sudra is he who does evil, and Brahman is he who does good.

God and Soul, according to him, are two distinct entities, each having certain attributes of its own. Yet they are inseparable and are related to each other as Pervader and the Pervaded. Three things are eternal: God, Soul and Prakriti. "The purpose of creation is the essential and natural exercise of the creative energy of the Deity. A person once asked some one: 'What is the purpose of the eyes?' Why, to see with, to be sure,' was the reply. The same is the case here. God's creative energy must have play, and the Souls must reap the fruits of their Karma."

The transmigration, or earthly bondage of Soul has a cause. Cause is ignorance, which is a source of all sin. The Freedom of Soul from suffering thus, is its salvation. But salvation lasts only for a period, on the expiration of which, the Soul assumes the body again.

Devas are those who are wise. Virtuous activity is superior to passive resignation. The other creatures should be treated in the same manner as one himself would like to be treated. Swarga is nothing but

state of happiness in which Soul lives as a result of good actions. Narka is the State of pain.

“All truth must satisfy five tests: (1) It must not militate against the nature and attributes of God; (2) It must not be opposed to the teaching of the Vedas; (3) It must stand the test of the wellknown eight kinds of proofs based on natural laws; it must have the sanction of ‘apt purshas’ (*i.e.*, men learned, true and holy); and lastly (5) It must be in consonance with the dictates of one’s own conscience. Every doctrine must be subjected to these five tests, and accepted if it fulfills them.”

The true teacher is he who can teach the science of the Vedas and their commentaries. And true pupil is he who is devoted to the teacher, and is eager to learn; whose character is unassailable and whose capacity is strong enough to assimilate knowledge and grasp truth. The term Guru applies to all those through whom mind is weaned from falsehood and it includes father, mother and preceptor.⁵

Watchword of the Aryas was ‘Back to the Vedas’ which are perfect and source of all sciences and knowledge. There could be no historical or temporal reference to them.

The Qualifications of a Member

A person, as it was laid down by the Swami, must subscribe to the following ten Niyamas—or principles, before he can become a member of the Samaj.

1. God is primary cause of all true knowledge.
2. God is all—truth, all—knowledge.....Un—begotten. Infinite.....and the cause of the universe. To Him alone worship is due.
3. Vedas are the Books of true knowledge. Every Arya must read them.
4. Arya should always be ready to accept truth and renounce untruth.
5. All actions must conform to virtue and be performed after thorough study of right and wrong.
6. Primary work of Samaj is to benefit the whole world by improving physical, spiritual and social conditions of the people.

7. All should be treated with love and due regard to their merit.
8. Ignorance must be dispelled and knowledge diffused.
9. Every one is to consider his own good to be included in that of the others.
10. In personal affairs, all are to have freedom, but no person is to stand in way of the general good.

Religious Observances

Every member should observe the following five *Mahayajnas*

1. *Brahma Yajna*, which is two fold:
a—Sandhya or worship of God every morning and every evening.
b—Swadhyae or regular reading of portions of scripture everyday.
2. The day is to be begun with *Deva Yajna*—the wellknown Homa or burning of Ghi.
3. *Pitri yajna*—or some sort of daily service to parents.
4. *Atithi yajna*—or the feeding of some ascetic or a learned man.
5. *Balivaishwa deva yajna*—or as duty towards poor, and helpless persons and towards domestic animals.

Main Programmes and Activities in Punjab

The basic principles⁶ on which the social ideas of the Samaj were based were: 1. Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. 2. Equality of sexes. 3. Absolute justice and fair play between man and man, and nation and nation. Equal opportunities to all according to their nature, Karma and merit. 4. Love and charity towards all.

The social activities of the Aryas among Hindus, in practice, as commented upon by Mr. Valentine Chirol in 1910, were praiseworthy. "The influence has been constantly exerted to check the marriages between mere boys and almost infant girls which have done so much physical as well as moral mischief to Hindu society, and also to improve the wretched lot of Hindu widows whose widowhood with all that it entails of mental degradation often begins before they have

ever really been wives. To this end the Aryas have not hesitated to encourage female education, and the girls' Orphanage at Jullundar, where there is also a widow's home, has shown what excellent social results can be achieved in that direction. Again in the treatment of the "untouchable" low-castes, the Arya Samaj may claim to have been the first native body to break new ground and to attempt something akin to the work of social reclamation of which Christianity and in a lesser degree, Islam had hitherto had the monopoly. Schools and especially industrial classes have been established in various districts which cannot fail to raise the status of the younger generation and gradually to emancipate the lower castes from the bondage in which they have been hither-to held.⁷

The first Hindu Orphanage was established by the Arya Samaj at Ferozepur, in the Punjab, during the life time of the Swami, with a splendid and commodious building. Later on a number of other orphanages on similar lines were established at different places in the Northern India.

In 1897-98, there were very severe famines in the country. A very commendable service was rendered by the Samaj in organising relief of distress. Thousands of children were rescued and for them several new orphanages opened in the Punjab. In 1908, famine relief was organised in the United Provinces. The famine relief included different kinds of other social service as well. Organisation of medical relief in the time to pestilence, nursing the sick and helping in the disposal of the dead. The Samaj also organised a large scale relief in the Kangra Valley in 1904, at the time of the great earthquake.

The Educational Field

Besides, one of the most interesting programmes of the Samaj was to weld together the educated and uneducated by encouraging the study of national languages of spiritual truth and by insisting on study of classical Sanskrit. Formation of sound and energetic habits by a regulated mode of living. The encouragement of a sound acquaintance with English literature and material progress of the country by spreading knowledge of physical and applied sciences.⁸ And in this again, the Samaj had a considerable success.

Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College

The Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, which was described by the Punjab Administration Report of 1901-02, as "one of the most interesting educational enterprises in Northern India," was opened at Lahore in June, 1889. The idea regarding it had been originated by the Swami himself. Giving an account of a meeting called by Lahore Arya Samaj on November 9, 1883, after the death of the Swami, thus wrote the Arya Patrika of June 20, 1885, "there was one united purpose that the glorious life of the departed Swami should be immortalised, and the proposal to found an Anglo-Vedic College in honour of his memory was unanimously adopted. The sight that followed was worth observing. Though the meeting was composed mostly of middle-class men, from 7000 to 8000 rupees were subscribed on the spot. Women and children and even poor menials zealously came forward with their mite." The declared purpose of the college was to be to (a) "Encourage, improve and enforce the study of Hindu literature. (b) To encourage and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and of the Vedas. (c) To encourage and enforce the study of English literature; and sciences both theoretical and applied."

The school department of this institution was opened in June 1886, and the College department in June, 1889. The progress of the institution was so fast, that on Dec. 31, 1913, the total number of students on the school rolls was 1,737, while that on the college rolls was 903. Soon a D.A.V. College at Jullundru, another at Hoshiarpur and the third at Cawnpore in U.P. were added, and the total amount of funds, at the disposal of the D.A.V. College movement on March 31, 1929, was Rs. 26,51,206—10—0.

The Gurkula

In 1892, the Samaj was divided into two sections, which differed in the lines on which the D.A.V. College of Lahore was to be run. The difference of opinion was whether English, science, or the Vedas, should be given first place in the institution. Those who held the latter opinion, were termed as religious fanatics and debarred from the management of the college. But they, in order to put their ideas into practice, started a new institution, three miles below Hardwar, and named it as Gurukula. The Gurukula was established in 1902, as a

result of the efforts chiefly of Munshi Ram, formerly a successful pleader of Jullundur.

Regarding the Gurukula, again, the views of V. Chirol may be quoted. "Under the system the child is committed at an early age to the exclusive care of a spiritual teacher or Guru, who stands to him in *loco parentis* and even more. In the *gurukulas* or seminaries founded by the Arya Samaj pupils or *chelas* are admitted between the ages of six and ten. From that moment they are practically cutoff from the outer world during the whole course of their studies, which cover a period of 16 years altogether—*i.e.*, ten years in the lower school and six years in the upper, to which they pass up as *Brahmancharis*. During the whole of that period no student is allowed to visit his family, except in cases of grave emergency, and his parents can only see him with the permission of the head of the *gurukul* and not more than once a month. There are at present (1910) three *gurukuls* in the Punjab, but the most important one, with over 250 students, is at Kangri."⁹

Sir James Meston the Lieutenant Governor of U.P. who visited the institution March 16, 1913, remarked: "The Gurukula is one of the most original and interesting experiments carried on in these provinces, in fact in the whole of India."

Constitution of the Samaj

There is a regular constitution of the Samaj, under which Vedas alone are to be regarded as absolute authority. There is to be a principal Arya Samaj in each province, with its branches. Every Principal Samaj must have library of Vedic works in Sanskrit and Arya-bhasha, and a weekly named 'Arya Parkash'. Members of the staff should be truth-loving and of pure character. The members, particularly the unmarried ones must give their spare time to the Samaj activities. President of the Samaj, its Secretary and other members are to meet every 8th day. In the meetings, the members would sing the hymns of Sama Veda, and have discussion without bias. The members must pay one per cent of their income to the Samaj. They should worship only in Vedic manners. The Samaj should perform Vedic Sanskaras, and teach Vedas in Arya Vidyalas. The Samaj should give attention to uplift the country, both spiritually and materially, and send learned men to preach among the people. The President and other

members of the Samaj should free their minds from pride. Only those who conform to the principles and live a pure life, should be admitted to higher circle from ordinary membership. On every occasion, such as marriage, a member should make a donation to the Samaj. An addition or an amendment can be made in the rules after thorough deliberations.

The Organisation

An effective member must accept the ten Niyamas, pay one per cent of his income to the Samaj and attend its meetings regularly. A Samaj having atleast ten effective members, is entitled to send its representatives to the Provincial Assembly.

Each Samaj should have an executive committee, consisting of five officials, elected by the vote of effective members. The five officials are to be—President, Vice-President, Secretary, Accountant and a Librarian. It should have its own meeting place and a splendid building for the purpose.

Each province is to have a Provincial Assembly, in which the Samajes would send their representatives in proportion to their effective members. The Provincial Assembly can change rules of management, it can organise propoganda, should run one or more papers, raise funds and manage provincial educational institutions, etc. Members of the Assembly are to be elected after every three years, but the officials would be elected every year.

There would be an All India Assembly formed by the representatives of different provincial assemblies.

The Progress

In 1928, the Samaj had the following two All India Organisations. 1. The Sarva Deshak Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, and 2. The Paropkarni Sabha founded by the Swami himself. It had nine Provincial Assemblies. The number of the Samajes whole over the country, on the provincial basis, were as follows—

Punjab	500
U.P.	413
Delhi	200
C.P. and Berar	52

Ajmer	100
Bombay	30
Bengal and Bihar	20
Burma	10

Besides there were Samajes outside India.

The Samaj of Swami Dayanand was rendering a great service to the country, but as the Punjab Census Report of 1901 remarked, unfortunately its leaders were too much after keeping their reforms within the Hindu society. The principles of Fatherhood of God and absolute fair play between man and man and nation and nation, applied only within the Hindu community, outside of which they had no play.¹⁰

The Imperial Paper of Lahore, wrote in its issue of October 3, 1888, that the Aryas were inciting their members against Muslims and advising them to avenge themselves upon that community, because they believed that all the evils, such as child-marriage and purdah, were products of the Muslim rule in India.¹¹

The Akhbar-i-Am wrote in its issue dated February 23, 1889, that some Aryas had spoken against Sikh Gurus and that somebody had published Granth Sahib full of mistakes. The Sikhs were getting very much exercised over it.¹² And Ravi, in its issue dated August 7, 1889, wrote that somebody had written a book Granthi phobia, injuring the feelings of the Sikhs.¹³

The "ethical code" of Swami Dayanand, thus wrote Valentine Chirol, "on the other hand, was vague, and he pandered strangely in some directions to the weaknesses of the flesh, and in others to popular prejudices. Nothing in the Vedas, for instance, prohibits either the killing of cattle or the eating of bovine flesh. But, in defence to one of the most universal of Hindu superstitions, Dayanand did not hesitate to include cow-killing amongst the deadliest sins. Here we have in fact the keynote of his doctrines. The sanctity of the cow is the touch-stone of Hindu hostility to both Christian and Mohammedan, and the whole drift of Dayanand's teachings is far less to reform Hinduism than to rouse it into active resistance to the alien influences which threatened, in his opinion, to denationalise it. Hence the outrageously aggressive tone of his writings, wherever he alludes either to Christianity or to Mohammedanism. It is the advent of 'Meat-eating and wine-drinking,

foreigners, the slaughters of kine and other animals," that has brought "trouble and suffering" upon "the Aryas"—he discards the word Hindu on account of its Persian origin—whilst before they came into the country, India enjoyed "golden days," and her people were "free from disease," and prosperous and contented." In fact, "Arya for the Aryans" was the cry that frequently predominated in Dayanand's teachings over that of "Back to the Vedas....."¹⁴

Yet among Hindus, the Movement was getting popular as the time passed. In 1911, its membership stood at 2,43,000, and this was two and a half times as much as what was in 1901, and six times as much as that of 1891.

DEO DHARMA—IV

Deo Dharma was founded in Lahore by a Brahmin, Pandit Satya Nand Agnihotri, on February 16, 1887. He was formerly a master in the Government School at Lahore. While there he had come under the influence of Brahma Samaj, and had become its missionary in 1879. Subsequently, however, he developed independent ideas and founded a separate Movement, the Deo Dharma.

In the main principles the Movement founded by him was progressive. Like the other progressive bodies of the time, the Deo Dharma rejected all caste distinctions. The most cardinal point in their beliefs was that they revered all other religions; but they themselves rejected any idea of intercession, redemption and pilgrimages. They supported all civilized movements of the time, such as those for female education and female medical aid, etc. They were, however the fiercest opponents of the Arya Samaj, which according to them, was constituted of diehard religious fanatics.

The Headquarters of the Movement were at Lahore and by the early years of the 20th century, they were said to have as many as 12 missionaries and 190 members and sympathisers within or out side of the province.

SANATAN DHARM SABHA—V

This Movement was also started in Lahore, in 1889. The Movement according to the Punjab Census Report of 1901, was "the most

prominent of the formal associations; orthodox Hindus established for the conservation of the ancient Hindu religion by the Vedas, Puranas and other Shastras.”

The objects of the movement, as noted in the memorandum of its constitution were to promote and preserve old orthodox Hinduism, to establish a college for imparting modern education together with religious instructions and to establish a library, where to keep all works treating of Sanatan Dharma.

They adopted the term Sanatan Dharma, because they advocated a return to old faith of Hinduism, but the term was widely used, and was frequently returned by the members as their sect. Even the Hindus of lower caste did this.

By the first decade of the 20th century, the Sabha had its High School and an advanced Sanskrit Pathshala in Lahore. For a time, its management was lax, but soon it improved. Preachers were sent out to collect library of Sanskrit works and manuscripts and soon it became an important body.

SOME MINOR ASSOCIATIONS—VI

Sat Sabha was established at Lahore in 1866, to impart elementary truths of Western knowledge to the people of the Punjab, through their own languages. The organisers also aimed at religious and social reforms among Hindus. But the movement does not seem to have been very much successful. Towards the beginning of the 20th century, the Association was reported to be losing its importance.

Hindu Sabha was established at Amritsar in 1830. Its object was to revive the study of Sanskrit literature. The Sabha also aimed at social reforms among Hindus and at the educational development in the community. By the first decade of the 20th century, the Sabha had a prosperous school of its own.

B—MOVEMENTS AMONG THE SIKHS

Tendencies among the Sikhs resembled closely those among the Hindus, and they also therefore organised societies instead of sects.

GULAB DASIS—I

Gulab Dasis or Saints, says Bingley, were chiefly interesting in the near approach of their doctrines to those of the Epicureans.¹⁵ The society was founded by one, Pritam Das, an Udasi faqir, his principle disciple being a Jat Sikh, named Gulab Das. Gulab Das was a trooper in the service of Maharaja Sher Singh and joined the society of Pritam Dass on the collapse of the Sikh monarchy. Gulab Das compiled a sacred book called *Updes Bilas*, and he taught that man was of same substance as the Deity, with whom he would eventually be absorbed.

The Gulab Dasis dispensed with pilgrimages. They preached against useless religious ceremonies, and against veneration of saints. According to the Punjab Census Report of 1881, pleasure alone was the aim of the Gulab Dasis, and renouncing all higher objects, they sought only for the gratification of the senses, for costly dress and tobacco, wine and women, the lust of the eyes and pride of life. They were scrupulously neat in their attire and were engaged in all worldly pursuits, some of them being men of considerable wealth.¹⁶

The Gulab Dasis were said to have a considerable abhorrence of lying and there was certainly no hypocrisy in their tenets. In appearance they varied. They saw no harm "in incert," and had disgusted all respectable communities by their licence.¹⁷ All the castes were admitted in the society but the members from different castes did not intermarry nor did they eat with each other.¹⁸

The society does not seem to have progressed much. The early 20th century literature shows that the society was confined to Lahore and Jullundur.

THE NIRANKARI MOVEMENT—II

At the time the Nirankari Movement was started, the Sikhs had fallen into many evil habits. The daily prayers had been forgotten, the old evil practices of Sati, etc. redeveloped. The worship of Brahmins, expensive marriage and death ceremonies, and worship of idols, gods and goddesses; all these practices were getting once again the bane of the Sikh society. Several persons had set themselves up as Gurus, in the line of Guru Nanak and Gobind Singh, and the tragedy is that the illiterate masses, not only respected them, they worshipped them,

and at the cost of these ignorant people, the so called Gurus, practising all the moral and immoral means, were developing a sort of principalities of their own. The most important of such Guru 'gadis' was that of Baba Vir Singh Naurangbadia; the others being those of Baba Sahib Singh Bedi of Una, Sodhi Sahib of Anandpur, Sodhi Sahib Guru Har Sahai of Ferozepur, and the Sodhis of Kartarpur.

And besides, after the Punjab had been annexed, a flood of Christian Missionaries, with the free blessings of the British Government, established their centres in the Punjab, at different places, such as Taran Taran, Amritsar, Lahore and Peshawar. Not few Sikhs were converted, and even Maharaja Dalip Singh could not escape the effects of their propaganda. The Nirankari movement in the Punjab was a reaction against all this.

The Nirankari movement was founded by Baba Diyal, who was born at Peshawar, on May 17, 1783. His father, Bhai Ram Sahai and his mother, Ladki¹⁹, had been very regular in the daily Sikh religious practices, attending the Gurdwara and reading the holy book Granth Sahib. At the age of six, the Baba started getting his education at the hands of his own mother, in Gurmukhi, and afterwards he was sent in a maktab (School) to learn Persian. But his education remained just nominal. By the age of 17, he mastered not only the Sikh History, but also the Sikh sacred book, and started preaching among the Sikhs. His father and mother had died while he was young. Just this time, Baba Balik Singh²⁰ of Mahidpur, a holy man of considerable fame, visited Peshawar, and being impressed with the boy, he appointed Baba Dayal as his successor. In 1808, Baba Diyal left Peshawar and settled at Rawalpindi opening a grocer's shop in that town. Soon he was married with Mul Devi, the daughter of Bhai Charan Das of Bhera, and had three sons, Darbara Singh, Bhag Mal and Ratan Chand. The marriage, however, did not effect his career as a preacher, in which he became yet more serious. In 1823, he was granted a big Jagir, which was used by the Baba for *Langar*, and which continued with the Nirankaris till the partition of the Punjab.

The rising influence of the Baba was not liked by some persons, who occupied the Gurdwara Pishorian in Rawalpindi, where the Baba used to preach, and closed its doors to him. The Baba, at that, purchased some land out-side the town, at a short distance, towards

south-east, and there, on December 3, 1851, he established Nirankari Darbar. There-from, he organised his activities established about forty Subahs at different Nirankari centres in the province, and sent preachers and musicians towards different sides, to preach his message.²¹ The Baba died on January 30, 1855, at the ripe age of about 73 years, and when he died, his message had spread not only whole over the province, but outside in places such as Delhi and Agra as well.²²

After the death of Baba Diyal, his eldest son Baba Darbara Singh succeeded to the *Gadi*. After his accession, on March 12, 1855, Baba Darbara Singh is said to have held a grand congregation of his followers, where in, after the method of Guru Gobind Singh, he demanded two heads, one of a young girl and the other of a young boy. One, Nihal Singh offered his son Bhola Singh and Waheguru Singh offered his daughter Nihal Kaur, both of whom were married forth with according to the Sikh rites, in the simplest manner. This was an invitation and an inducement to his followers to simplify the marriage procedure, so that it could be performed without entailing ruin upon either of the parties.

Baba Darbara Singh, thus continued his reforming activities among the Sikhs, till he died on February 13, 1870, at the age of 56.

After Darbara Singh's death, his younger brother, Baba Ratan Singh Acceded to the *Gadi*. He was a man of humble dispositions and active habits. He continued the activities for social reforms amongst the Sikhs on the lines laid down by his elder brother and father. He died on January 3, 1909, and was succeeded by his son Baba Gurdita Singh, who guided his community on the same line till his death in 1947, when Baba Hara Singh took up the torch in his hands.

Main Principles

The preachings of the Nirankari leaders seem to have been directed against religious ceremonies rather than against social and caste institutions. The Nirankaris worshipped God as spirit only and were against the adoration of idols. They preached against offerings to Brahmins or to the dead bodies. They preached against meat-eating and abhorred wine and other intoxicants. The Nirankaris must live a pure, simple and truthful life.

The sacred book of the Nirankaris was *Adi Granth* of Guru Arjan, from which they drew all their religious inspiration. They preached effectively in favour of widow-marriage, and many such marriages did take place under their auspices. They favoured marriages in simple manners, without any sort of pomp and show. Their birth ceremonies were simple and so were their death ceremonies. Instead of mourning on a death, they are said to have rejoiced on such occasions.²³

The total population of the Nirankaris in the Punjab, in 1891, according to the Punjab Census Report of that year, was 50,724, which included 38,907 Kesadhari Sikhs and 11,817 Sehjdhari Sikhs. According to the Nirankaris their population increased later, but Captain Bingley wrote in 1899, that they numbered only 38,000.²⁴ Just before the partition, their population is said to have been between 70 and 80 thousands.

THE KUKA MOVEMENT—III

Exactly a month before the first round of Mutiny was fired in Meerut, Guru Ram Singh founded, on April 12, 1857, a socio-political sect called 'Namdhari' in the Punjab. These Namdharis, while reciting Sikh Mantras or repeating the name, often developed emotions, screamed and shouted, turbans in their hands and hair streaming in the air, hence called 'Kukas' or the shouters.

The originator of this movement was one Balak Singh who was born at the village Sarvala, in District Attock, in 1799. Father of Balak Singh was Dial Singh, an Arora. Given to meditations from his early childhood, Balak Singh began to preach against social evils among the Sikhs at an early age. In 1838, Ram Singh, who was a soldier in Prince Nau Nihal Singh's army, came under his influence, and it was this man who later succeeded him and started the real movement. Balak Singh was only a silent preacher against social evils, but the chaos after Ranjit Singh's death and annexation of the Punjab by British, seems to have aroused in him a spirit to fight for political freedom, and at his inspiration, his disciple and successor, organised an active body of Namdharis. Balak Singh died in 1861 and was succeeded by Ram Singh.

Born in 1815, at the village Bheni Arayian, in District Ludhiana,

Ram Singh was son of a poor carpenter, Jusa Singh. He learnt how to read and write Gurmakhi script, married in 1822, and enlisted himself in Prince Nau Nihal Singh's army at the age of 22. He came under Balak Singh's influence in 1838, and got himself initiated into his faith; but continued in the army, till he left that service in 1845. In 1847 he started preaching against some bad habits among the Sikhs. He condemned the Sodhis and Bedis, who belonging to the lines of the Sikh Gurus, got themselves worshipped. He also condemned the influence of Hindu Brahmans and Muslim Pirs among the Sikhs and insisted upon the Sikhs receiving baptism as prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh Guru.

In 1857, on the Baisakhi day, Ram Singh founded his movement, the Namdhari, in his own village, Bheni, where four Sikhs received baptism at his hands to start with. He fixed 22 preaching centres in different parts of the province, and in each one of them he appointed a Deputy called Suba, to carry on the preaching business. Besides, the Subas were also appointed in Gwalior, Hyderabad Deccan, Benaras, Lucknow, Nepal and Kabul. The institution of Subas was completed by 1864, and they went about preaching Ram Singh's message from place to place.

In the beginning, the districts of Sialkot, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana formed chief centres of Namdhari activities, but later they spread to Ferozepur, Lahore and Gujranwala as well. Not only Sikhs joined this movement in great numbers, Hindus were also attracted towards it and by 1871, as it was revealed by Giani Ratan Singh in the court of Mr. Cowan, the Kukas numbered ten lakhs, of whom only one third were Kesadharis, the rest being all Sehjdharis.

Ram Singh never told his followers to beg about and move about unemployed as mendicants. The Kukas were to be found in all sorts of profession. They were businessmen, traders and merchants, and employed in Government and private services. They were found especially in Police and Army, where it was difficult to ascertain their number, because they joined these services with a purpose and never revealed their Kuka affiliations.

As the time passed, pomp and splendour of Ram Singh grew. When he went on tours, his entourage consisted of a number of his Subas and splendid horsemen, all in beautiful white dress. His

followers began to call him a Guru, as a successor in the line of Guru Nanak, and although in his letters addressed from Rangoon in exile, he openly condemned the practice, in the initial stages, he does not seem to have done so strictly, and therefore his importance among the Kukas, comparable to that of the ten Sikh Guru's developed. Just this time, one of his admirers seems to have produced a *Pothi*, proposed to have been written in the time of Guru Gobind Singh or earlier, in which it was written that one Ram Singh would appear, who would become a spiritual leader of the Sikhs and establish his rule in the country. In the early stages, Ram Singh himself seems to have developed some sort of belief in what was written in this *pothi*. The Kukas, rather, would replace Guru Gobind Singh with Bhai Balak Singh and Ram Singh, as it was generally held among them.

Born Guru Hazro, he resides at Bheni. But later, during his exile at Rangoon, he openly condemned this in his letters written to his followers in the Punjab. In one of the letters, he thus wrote:

"There is no need of my becoming a Guru, nor am I a Guru, I live only under orders. The world has attached meaningless claims on me."

Ram Singh died in 1885, in his exile in Burma.

The Articles of Belief

Giving an account of the Kuka Articles of Belief, thus wrote Mr. Kinchant: "Gobind Singh's Grantha (Adi-Granth) is the only true one, written by inspiration and is the only sacred writing extant. Gobind Singh is the only Guru. Any person, irrespective of caste or religion, can be admitted a convert. Sodhis, Bedis, Mahants, Brahmins and such like are imposters, as none are gurus except Gobind Singh. *Devidwaras*, *Shivdwaras* and *Mandirs* are a means of extortion, to be held in contempt and never visited. Idols and idol-worship are insulting to God, and will not be forgiven. Converts are allowed to read Gobind Singh's Grantha and no other book."²⁵

Again, a brief account of the Kuka sect, given in Papers relating to Kukas, printed in 1863, reads.

"The leading feature of the doctrines Ram Singh preaches are:

"He abolishes all distinctions of caste among Sikhs; advocates

indiscriminate marriage of all classes; enjoins the marriages of widow; enjoins abstinence from liquor and drugs; but advocates much too free intercourse between the sexes; men and women rave together at his meetings, and thousands of women and young girls have joined the sect; he exhorts his disciples to be cleanly and truth telling. One of his maxims says: it is well that every man carries his staff, and they all do. The Granth is their only accepted volume. The brotherhood may be known by the tie of their pagris, *Sidha Pag*, by a watchword, and by a necklace of knots made in a white woolen cord to represent beads, and which are worn by all the community." They had no respect for tombs and temples and were also iconoclasts.²⁶

Religiously, the Kukas were somewhere between Hindus and Sikhs. They were teetotallers, lived a simple life and wore only hand-made and pure Swadeshi clothes. Although condemned by Ram Singh, unlike the Sikhs, they believed in the divinity of the tenth Guru having descended upon Guru Balak Singh, then Ram Singh, Hari Singh and Pratap Singh. On March 20, 1867, when Ram Singh visited Gurdwara Kesgarh, in Anandpur, and requested the priests to pray for him, they refused. On enquiry they told him that it could not be done, because he differed in his beliefs from the Sikhs, on the following points:

1. He considered himself to be an incarnation of Deity.
2. At the time of initiating a person into his sect, he whispered mantra in his ear which was against the Sikh custom. .
3. The initiated Kukas said, 'Born Guru Hazro. He resides at Bheni,' whereas the Sikhs believed that 'Born Guru Patna, He resides at Anandpur.'
4. Against the Sikh customs, the Kukas removed their turbans from their heads in Gurdwaras, and spread their hair.
5. Against the Sikh customs, the Kukas sometimes got so much exhilarated and beyond self-control, that they started behaving like Muslim friars. Therefore, the Kukas could not become Sikhs of the Guru.

The Kukas, however, were strict in wearing the five Sikh Ks, and in other Sikh essentials.

In their social beliefs, the Kukas were against child-marriage. They condemned infanticide and dowry system. The Namdharis in fact

were religiously denied the right to spend more than Rs. 13 on a marriage. This practice obtains among them even in the present times, and in a recent Kuka conference at Delhi, many couples were married at Rs. 1-4-0 each.

The Kukas gave strictly equal status to women and believed in inter-caste marriage between caste Hindus and untouchables. The first such inter-caste marriage was performed among the Kukas on January 4, 1863.

Writing in an article published in 1935, thus commented Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the present President of India: "Guru Ram Singh considered political freedom a part of religion. The organisation of the Namdharis became very strong. The principles of boycott and non-co-operation, which Mahatma Gandhi introduced so vigorously in our freedom movement were expounded by Guru Ram Singh for the Namdharis."

The Guru's Non co-operation movement was based on the following five principles.

1. Boycott of Government services.
2. Boycott of educational institutions run by British Government.
3. Boycott of law established by them.
4. Boycott of foreign clothings.
5. Disobedience of Government orders, which one's conscience abhorred.

And the Namdharis were so steadfast in these principles that even after the independence, their Guru Maharaja Pratap Singh and his son sacrificed all the modern necessities of life provided by the British Government.

The Namdharis had their own postal system in operation in all the parts of Punjab, which worked efficiently under time schedule, and which was abandoned only after the independence.

To keep his disciples under direct control, Bhai Ram Singh had appointed Suba's and Naib-Subas. Majority of whom were in districts Amritsar, Sialkot, Jullundur, Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal, Maler Kotla State, Nabha, Patiala and Sangrur.

The Kukas also enlisted themselves in great numbers in the State police and in the army, and got thereby, a military training to be used when required. When in such services, the Kukas did not reveal their identity. A special Kuka regiment was raised by the Maharaja of Kashmir, which later at the British intercession, was disbanded.

To make his political programme a success, Bhai Ram Singh spread his spheres of activity in Nepal Bhutan, Kashmir and several other States, as already discussed. Contacts were made with these rulers through Namdhari embassies. Bhai Ram Singh is also said to have been in contact with Rani of Jhansi and other leaders of the 1857 Mutiny; and also exchanged letters with Russia through the Governor of Russian Turkistan. The Bhai seems to have developed a belief that Russians were bound to march on India; with whose help, the British would be expelled from the country.

Qutab Khan, a British spy in Russian Turkistan thus supplied an information to the Punjab administrators that, a person named Guru Charan Singh, inhabitant of Chak Ram Dass in the Sialkot district, arrived at a particular place in Russian Turkistan on May 1, 1879, with a Hindi letter, purporting to be from Ram Singh, the Kuka leader and signed by several others. This letter, as stated by the informer, began with "*Salams* to the Russian emperor, the Governor-General and the other Russian officers and went on to say that Ram Singh was the spiritual leader of 315,000 Kukas, all brave soldiers; that the tyrannical British Government had imprisoned him in Rangoon, but that his younger brother at Ludhiana kept him fully informed with what was going on that the British were afraid of losing the Punjab to the Kukas....." which, however was bound to happen.

In the month of April, 1881, Sir Robert Egerton, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, was pressing the Government of India for the issue of a warrant under the provision of Regulation III of 1818, "for the detention of Guru Charan Singh during the pleasure of his Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council."

Guru Charan Singh was already under arrest and detention at Lahore but the Punjab Government did not know any other way of keeping him under effectual restraint without trial, unless it was under Regulation III of 1818. In their opinion, it was dangerous to leave Guru Charan Singh at large because he was acting as the medium of

communication between the Russian administrators in Central Asia and the disaffected Kukas. With liberty to move freely he would lose no opportunity of recounting the honours conferred on him by the Russians and of enlarging on the benefits to be reaped by the Kukas in the event of the Russians obtaining possession of the Punjab. The Government of India ultimately agreed with this proposal.

In 1863, the conduct of the Kukas on the whole, was reported to be orderly.²⁷ The Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, reported in 1867, that their number was on the increase, but that there was on danger to be apprehended from the spread of the sect.²⁸ In 1868, it was reported that Kukaism was on the decline and that the belief in Ram Singh's supernatural powers had been shaken by experiences of the converts.²⁹

For many years, the Kukas did nothing worse than defile or destroy shrines and idols, and murder butchers and others whom they suspected of slaughtering kine. But the Kuka outbreak of Tera, near Mukatsar, in February 1869, and some other available facts, according to the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala district proved beyond doubt that Kukaism aimed at the restoration of Sikh rule, and by necessity, the subversion of the British power.³⁰

In 1871, the Kukas met in conference at the village Khote in Ferozepur in which Ram Singh was present, but unfortunately, here they were divided into two parties and despite Ram Singh's admonitions, began to quarrel among themselves. Some Kukas got out of Ram Singh's control and attacked and murdered many butchers and others suspected of kine slaughter. On June 14, 1871, slaughters of the butchers took place in Amritsar, and on July 16, 1871 at Raikot. Some Kukas were arrested and hanged, and many were punished with fines and imprisonment.

In 1872, however, there was a more serious outbreak. On January 11 and 12, the Kukas met at the village Bheni, where Ram Singh was present. After the conference, the Kukas dispersed, but some of them went out of Ram Singh's control and decided to attack Malerkotla and occupy it. Although Ram Singh seems to have informed the British authorities of it, before hand, yet the Kukas succeeded in creating troubles. Mr. L. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana and Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Ambala Division,

took too serious a view of it and under their orders, 49 of the Kuka ringleaders were blown away from cannon mouths.³¹

Concerning Ram Singh, thus did Mr. Forsyth address the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

“1. have the honour to inform you that I have considered it absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace in this district, if not for the peace of the whole province, to deport Ram Singh, leader of the Kuka sect at once from the Punjab, and to send him to Allahabad for safety until the pleasure of the Government regarding his final disposal be known.

“2. The complicity of Ram Singh in the outrages committed by his followers at Maloudh and in the State of Maler Kotla has not yet been thoroughly enquired into, and it is a fact that he reported to the police the intention of Lehna Singh and Hira Singh, the chief actors in the present case, to commit outrages. But by his own admission his followers make use of his name and take advantage of his presence among their fellows to commit murders and create disturbances.

“3. He admits, what I am now writing down his words that sometime (he says about a month or six weeks) before the Amritsar murder, two men Jhanda Singh and Mehar Singh, asked leave to kill the butchers; others joined in the request, but he strenuously forbade them; nevertheless they perpetrated the crime. He admits that, though he had strong suspicion that these men were the culprits, he did not give any information to the government. Sometime afterwards, he says that Dal Singh, Mangal Singh, Diwan Singh and two others, came and asked his leave to commit the Raikot murder, but he forbade them and they did the deed without his knowledge. But he admits that he never gave any clue to the government officers not even when he was summoned to Bassian by Mr. Macnabb and interrogated. It is therefore quite evident that he kept the government in the dark as to the proceedings of his followers. His excuse is that he was ignorant of our laws, and that as he had forbidden his followers to be guilty of murder, there was no obligation resting on him to report the matter to Government, not even when he found that murders proposed by his followers had been committed.

“4. To allow such a man at liberty is in the highest degree dangerous, even supposing his statement to be true, and then to be no

more guilty of complicity than is to be inferred from his silence when information from him, as in the Amritsar case, would have led to a prompt apprehension of the culprits.

“5. I trust that the action I am now about to take may receive the sanction of the Government, and that warrant may be issued under Regulation III of 1818 for the detention in custody of Ram Singh and those of his Subas who, during the next day or two; shall be apprehended and forwarded to the Magistrate of Allahabad.”

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala also wrote to Mr. Griffin, the officiating Secretary, who agreed with him that in the light of these proofs alongwith some other facts, it was certain that Ram Singh's real motive and ambition was to reign and acquire dominions, upon a religious pretext.

Ram Singh, thus, was deported to Burma, where he died in 1885.

It is said that the Kuka attack upon religious places, as they were iconoclasts, injured feelings of their neighbours, “while pure morality which they at first preached had been superseded by the most unbridled licence under the name of religious enthusiasm, men and women dancing naked together and indulging in orgies which had alienated the sympathies of the more decent portion of the community.”³²

As revealed by Giani Ratan Singh, the Kukas numbered in 1871 ten lakhs. According to the Punjab Census of 1891. However, they numbered only 10,541, throughout the province, the number having increased to 13,788 in the British territory alone, by 1901.³³

After Ram Singh, Guru Hari Singh succeeded, who was not allowed to move out of his house in the village Bheni, for 21 years. He died in 1906, and was succeeded by Pratap Singh. During the World War in 1914, the British Government tried to appease the Kukas by land grants and through some other means, but failed and had to use tyrant's rod. In 1920, the Kukas started their paper 'Satyug', and in 1922, their daily, 'Kuka' was started. When the Non-co-operation Movement was started by Gandhiji, the Kukas joined hands freely. Gandhiji himself, is said to have learnt many points from the Kukas, and modified his campaign to revolutionise the social and political structure of India.

THE SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT—IV

This movement was organised after the Namdhari movement had declined, and was third of the important movements among the Sikhs. But unlike the Nirankari and the Namdhari movements, the Singh Sabha did not believe in continuation of any 'Guru gadi.' The Movement was not interested in politics, its emphasis was on religious social and literary activities among the Sikhs.

There were certain factors which hastened its start. After the annexation of the Punjab, a flood of Christian Missionaries had moved into the province. The Sikhs and the Afghans were the two communities from which some trouble could be apprehended and therefore, the best means to tame them was to bring them under the folds of Christianity. Amritsar being the centre of Sikhs, and Peshawar that of Pathans, thus wrote Sir Edwardes to Sir John Lawrence: "There are two obligatory points the Peshawar Valley and Manjha. The rest are mere dependencies. Holding these two points you will hold the whole Punjab."³⁴ The British intentions are clear.

The first great missionary movement in the Punjab proper was the establishment of the American Presbyterian Mission at Ludhiana in 1834. The Ludhiana Mission as it thus came to be called later on, occupied a number of stations in the Central Punjab south of the Ravi. The Church Missionary Society began operations in the Punjab in 1851 and developed stations comprising a group round Amritsar and Lahore, and a long line of frontier stations strictly from Shimla to Karachi in Sind. It established a college in Lahore which prepared Indians for holy order. The Society for the propagation of the Gospel began work in Delhi in 1852. In 1877 it was reinforced by the St. Stephen's College at Delhi. Other Missionaries were the methodist Episcopal the Church of Scotland, the Moravian the American United Presbyterian, the Zanana Bible and Medical Missions, and the Salvation Army, besides the missionary work conducted by the various Roman Catholic orders."³⁵

The British Government themselves took an undue and unreasonable interest in these missionary activities. Sir John Lawrence, the chief Commissioner of the Punjab used to contribute Rs. 500 a year towards these activities, and so did Maharaja Dalip Singh, who himself had been converted into Christianity. The official interest of

the Government is manifest from Queen Victoria's own letter to Lord Dalousie, Dated November 24, 1854. Expressing the hope that the development of the railway communication in the country would facilitate considerably the spread of Christianity in these lands.³⁶

The total Christian population in 901 reached the figure of 71,854 souls, of whom 38,513 were Indian Christians whose number had risen from 3,912 in 1881 and were now nearly twice as numerous as they were in 1891. Between 1881 and 1891 the Indian Christians added 15,838 and between 1891 and 1901 they had added 18,763 to their numbers.

The effect of continuous Christian propoganda in the Punjab was not viewed with any satisfaction by the Sikhs. In 1873, four Sikh students of the Amritsar Mission School offered themselves for conversion into Christianity. Although they were prevailed upon by the Sikhs to desist from such action, it charged the atmosphere in the Province. Besides, Pandit Sharda Ram Philori, supposed to be an agent of the British, began to criticise the Sikh faith just this time. The Sikhs themselves were divided into two parties, one of which regarded Sikhism as a new faith while the other considered it only a branch of the Hindu religion. The Udasi sub-sect and others of the similar mould supported the latter, but the former were in a great majority.

Some movements, such as the Nirankari, Anjuman-i-Punjab and Brahmo Samaj, etc. had already done the spade work, and created an encouraging atmosphere for such initiatives. The matter was actually precipitated when a Hindu missionary erected a pulpit in the vicinity of the Golden Temple and openly vilified the teachings and achievements of the Sikh Gurus. This stung the Sikhs of Amritsar to activity.³⁸

It was as a reaction against these developments that some reasoning minds among the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar in 1873, and organised the Singh Sabha Movement. Sardar Thakhur Singh Sandhanwalia was elected President of the organisation and Giani Gian Singh as its Secretary. The main principles of the movement being to remove Sikh shortcomings and to revive the basic Sikh philosophy.

The movement thus organised, grew soon to popularity. Many Sikhs, and even Udasis among them, joined it. But it was not a long time before the original enthusiasm slackened, and due to some bitter

differences among its leaders, the movement declined. It was only Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Professor, who revived the movement later.

Prof. Bhai Gurmukh Singh, and the Singh Sabha Lahore

A man of daring spirit, humble habits and selfless disposition, Professor Bhai Gurmukh Singh was born in 1819 in a poor family, at Kapurthala. His father, Bhai Basawa Singh, a Chandar Jat, was an ordinary cook in the kitchen of Raja Nihal Singh of Kapurthala. After the death of Raja Nihal Singh, Basawa Singh transferred his services to Prince Bikram Singh, who took keen interest in the education of Gurmukh Singh.

In 1876, the Bhai placed a clear programme before the Sikhs, if they wanted to keep the torch of the Sikh faith alight. The programme was:

1. To produce national literature in Punjabi.
2. To impart religious education to the Sikhs.
3. To save the Sikhs falling from their faith.
4. All such activities to be carried on in co-operation with the British Government.³⁹

And for this, he proposed to revive the Singh Sabha of Amritsar. He met Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia and another important person, Bhai Karam Singh, in this connection. It was a result of their joint efforts that, the Punjab University Oriental College, which had been opened in 1876, introduced also teaching of the Punjabi language, in 1877, Prof. Singh himself being appointed a lecturer for the subject. Besides, Prof. Singh also wrote some important books in the language one of them being *Bharat da Itihas*.

The third important achievement of the Professor was that with the help of Sandhanwalia and Prince Bikram Singh, the two founder members of the Amritsar Singh Sabha, he revived the Sabha again, the meetings of which began to be held regularly. This Sabha remained in the control of the Sandhanwalia Sardar.

Lahore being an important place, if the Professor desired to have an easier success in the field, it was essential that a Sabha should be organised there. Consequently, the Professor gathered around him some selected Sikhs of the city, and founded a separate Sabha there in 1879,

under his own leadership. Besides others, some government officials also became members of this Sabha. Sir Robert Egerton, the Governor of the Punjab being requested, agreed to be its patron, and some other English officers also started taking interest in the body. The Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne himself, in a speech at Patiala, on October 23, 1890, said: "With this movement the Government of India is in hearty sympathy. We appreciate the many admirable qualities of the Sikh nation, and it is a pleasure to us to know that, while in days gone by we recognised in them a gallant and formidable foe, we are today able to give them a foremost place amongst the true and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen Empress."

In 1880, Professor Singh started the first purely Punjabi weekly 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' from Lahore, and shortly after commenced preaching tours towards different directions in the Punjab, as a result of which, Sabhas were established in different important Sikh centres and cities of the Province.

The basic principles of the Lahore Sabha, to start with, were same as those of the Amritsar Sabha. But as its activities developed, missionary tours were undertaken and the programme widened, some new aims for guidance were laid down, which were:

1. To define the principles of Sikh religion and to preach them among the people.
2. To bring in the market those books in which Sikh religion was explained and praised.
3. To collect the doubtful Sikh literature, such as '*Pothis*' and to correct it by additions and subtractions.
4. To develop Punjabi language and to publish papers and magazines in it.
5. The opponents of the Sikh faith, or those who were converted from it, unless they came back into the Sikh faith and accepted due punishment for their hostile activities, could not become its members.
6. Europeans and others could become its members if they were favourably disposed towards its programmes.
7. The Sabha was not to say or preach any thing against any other faith.

8. Nothing was to be said against the Government. The movement would be faithful to them.⁴⁰

After sometime, the Sabha also started planning *Pujari Sudhar* in the Sikh Gurdwaras.

In the beginning, the Singh Sabha co-operated with Arya Samaj but as the time passed, differences developed, and they were separated. An important achievement of the Sabha was that a movement for the establishment of Sikh educational institutions was started, which resulted in the establishment of a school in Lahore in which Punjabi began to be taught in Gurmukhi script.⁴¹

The Khalsa Dewan

After sometime the question arose whether the Singh Sabha of Lahore or that of Amritsar was greater. This resulted in a common meeting on April 11, 1880, which set up a General Sabha to guide the smaller two. In this Sabha some members from each party were taken, who would meet after every six months and supervise and check the activities of the both. But the first meeting of the General Sabha proved to be its last meeting, and the programme chalked out for it was never carried into practice.

In 1883 an effort was made to revive the General Sabha and it was now named Khalsa Dewan.⁴² But this effort also failed in establishing a permanent body. The two Sabhas of Lahore and Amritsar, differed fundamentally from each other, the points of difference being:

1. The Singh Sabha or Lahore under the guidance of Professor Singh was a progressive body, while that of Amritsar was conservative.
2. In the Khalsa Dewan the majority of the members came from the Lahore Sabha, who by their slow moving habits made the progress difficult.
3. Some persons among the leaders of the Amritsar Sabha such as Baba Khem Singh Bedi, being from the line of the Sikh Gurus, called themselves Gurus and preferred self-worship.
4. The members from Amritsar were weak in national spirit.

5. The Amritsar leaders insulted Bhai Gurmukh Singh, calling him the son of a cook⁴³, or the one having low origin.⁴⁴

When the two Sabhas could not come together, and lay down a common programme for the Khalsa Dewan, the Amritsar members did it themselves. In the programme laid down by the Amritsar members, all the importance was given to the leaders who wanted to get themselves worshipped, and to the *Pujaris* who desired to strengthen their hold on the Gurdwaras. For sometime, Bhai Gurmukh Singh kept quiet, and attended the meetings of this body. But he could not enjoy the society of these Rip Van Winkles for long and ultimately established a separate Khalsa Dewan at Lahore, with its own declared principles.

In the meanwhile, the lovers of education among the Sikhs occasionally met together, and the idea for a separate Khalsa College, went on maturing. Activities for religious propagation from both the sides, went apace, and the both sides began to bring out their separate periodicals.

Yet as the time passed, bitterness between the two parties increased. As Bhai Gurmukh Singh developed his activities, his opponents became bitter, and to decry and defame him, the Amritsar leaders called a special meeting of some important Sikhs of the Punjab, in which they were able to pass a resolution, which later on, was brought before the Sikh *Sangat* in the form of a '*Hukamnama of Akal Takhat*'. In this resolution, Bhai Gurmukh Singh was blamed of having violated some Sikh essentials. He was declared to be an irresponsible man, not to be responded to for what he said regarding the Sikh religion? There being differences among the Lahore members themselves, Gurmukh Singh suffered a serious set back for a time, and actually retired from activities. Soon, however, as the realities came to the surface, the differences among the Lahore members were composed and Bhai Gurmukh Singh was restored to the Lahore leadership.

Despite these differences, however, the movement for the Khalsa College went apace, Efforts continued to be made, especially by the Lahore members, whose appeals ultimately bore fruit. Many Sikh chiefs and capitalists responded with high financial contributions.

The foundation stone of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, was laid on March 5, 1892, by Sir James Lyall. And by 1899, the institution became a Degree College.

Decline of Singh Sabhas. And Institution of Chief Khalsa Dewan

After the establishment of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, prestige of the Lahore Sabha increased, and with that did increase the jealousy of its opponents. Unfortunately, after sometime, differences arose once again, among the members of the Lahore Dewan themselves. The Khalsa Dewan Lahore had a hold on the college, and some of its members began to criticise Bhai Gurmukh Singh for his pro—Jat attitude in the college management. Bhai Gurmukh Singh, however could not remain a target of this attack by his own colleagues for long. He died and left this mortal world on November 24, 1898, and with him died all the energetic activities which had distinguished the Lahore Dewan from the Khalsa Dewan of Amritsar.

The Amritsar Dewan being already on the decline, it is said that both these bodies died, and their place was now taken by a new organisation the Chief Khalsa Dewan. It seems, however to be incorrect. The movement merely changed its name, and a new spirit was infused into it as it would be clear from the following account.

Chief Khalsa Dewan

The efforts to establish a general Sikh body had already been made, which had resulted in the establishment of the first Khalsa Dewan. But the movement failed. By this time, however a leader had been born, who energized the activities once again. This new leader was Sardar Sunder Singh Majitha, who came in the field in 1892-93. He started by becoming a member of the Khalsa Dewan Amritsar. In 1895, he became a member of the College Council, and developing his hold in the Khalsa Dewan, Amritsar, he developed his influence with the Khalsa Dewan Lahore, as well.

On November 11, 1901, he called a meeting of important Sikhs at Amritsar, in which a resolution was unanimously adopted that Sikhs needed some all-Sikh body to serve the General Sikh cause. Lahore was asked to join hands, which it did. On October 30, 1902 the Chief Khalsa Dewan was established, which had a similar programme as

that of the progressive Sikhs in the two old bodies. A special mention may be made of some of their objects, which were:

1. To strengthen and develop the Khalsa College into a premier institution to impart higher education.
2. To organise an educational movement among the Sikhs, and to establish more schools and colleges.
3. To improve Punjabi literature.

A Sikh Education Committee was established under the Dewan in 1907, which later held many conferences and opened Khalsa Schools at several places in the Punjab.

Soon, however, differences arose among the members of the Chief Khalsa Dewan as well. In 1906, Baba Teja Singh, developing a difference with Sardar Sunder Singh Majitha, established a separate 'Panch Khalsa Dewan,' for the Sikhs of Malwa. This was soon copied, and Dewans were established at Taran Taran, Nabha and several other places in the Punjab. Clearly, by this time the terms Dewan and Sabha seem to have become synonymous. The original Sabhas as a matter of fact, did not die, they merely changed names and under different colours, the movement went apace, declining and rising again, till considerable number of achievements went to its credit.

Among the achievements, a few may be mentioned. Besides the establishment of Khalsa College, a premier Sikh institution, at Amritsar, which was its first and foremost achievement, the formation of Sikh Education Committee was a step of far reaching consequences. From 1908 onwards, annual Education conferences were held in different parts of the Province, which resulted in the establishment of several new Sikh institutions in the Punjab, notable among them being a Khalsa College at Gujranwala, and Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, a girls school, at Ferozepur.

Sikh Missionaries went out to preach their religion and for proselytism into their faith. Attar Singh, Sahib Singh Bedi, Khem Singh Bedi and Sangat Singh carried campaigns in the country, and in Northern Punjab and Sind many urban Hindus joined this faith.

Vir Singh founded 'Khalsa Tract Society' and a weekly, 'Khalsa Samachar.' Kahn Singh of Nabha wrote Encyclopedia of Sikh religion and Sikh culture. Ditt Singh and other important poets and prose-writers

further enriched the Punjabi literature. And even in the realm of politics, the name of the chief Khalsa Dewan, however insignificant its achievements, was mentioned with respect, for its integrity and honesty, in matters, pecuniary.

The account of the Singh Sabha movement may be concluded with a few words regarding the factors which led to its decline. The decline of the movement began by 1914, and by 1918 it had lost much of its vitality. The Sabhas, unfortunately, were given more to resolutions, conferences and pamphleteering, than to practical work in the field. The hereditary priests in the Sikh shrines, had been becoming a bane of the Sikh society. More reasoning minds among the Sikhs viewed them with no sympathy, and they could have been organised by the Sabha in a determined movement to eradicate the evil. But although the more progressive members of the Sabha felt its necessity, nothing was done in the connection in practice. In certain respects, the movement only ill-responded to the aspirations of the people. The vested interests seem to have failed its organisers to see what was required of them in the changing circumstances of the country? In its anxiousness to remain loyal to the Government in power, it antagonised the people by its failure to sympathise with Ghadr revolutionary group in the Punjab. It sided with the Government in the shooting incidence of April 1921. Nor could its members remain above personal aspirations and selfish motives. Continuation of *Guru Gadi* in their line and development of personal fame and prestige remained one of the weaknesses with some of its leaders. A more radical element such as the Akalis, was in the making, and this movement could never recover from the discredit which it had earned during this period.⁴⁵

THE SODHI-BANS⁴⁶—V

The Khalsa Sodhi-bans was a new reforming movement among the Sikhs, started towards the close of the 19th century. It aimed at a return to the pure religion of Guru Nanak. The number of its followers in the beginning of the 20th century was 2,000, who were scattered over the Province, but chiefly found in the North-West, especially in Sialkot, Shahpur and Rawalpindi.⁴⁷

THE KHALSA TRACT SOCIETY, AMRITSAR—VI

This society was established in 1890 with a view to conveying the simple truths of Sikhism in the Punjabi language. Social reform was another aim of the society.⁴⁸

C—MOVEMENTS AMONG THE MUSLIMS

DITTE-SHAHI—I

Ditte-Shahi, though not of much importance, was the only new sect of some importance, which developed among the Muslims during this period. Ditte Shah, the founder of the sect, was an Arain of the village Suk Kalan, about three miles east of the town of Gujarat. At the age of 40 he became disciple of a faqir named Mian Mohammad Panch of Sheikhpura in Gujarat and having given up worldly pursuits began to lead a retired life.

His creed was simple one. He exhorted people to do good actions and disregarded outward ceremonials. He wore red clothes and was said to have given up the religious duties enjoined by Islam. He died about 1881 and was succeeded by Mian Muhammad Yar.

There was however no learned man among the Ditte-Shahis and the sect did not possess any books of literature. They discarded the ordinary religious duties observed by Muslims and considered Ditte Shah to be the real Rasul of God and felt so much reverence for him that sometimes they looked to be believing him to be not different from God.⁴⁹

ANJUMAN-I-ISLAMIYA—II

Of the literary societies among the Mohammedans, Anjuman-i-Islamiya, Lahore, was founded in 1869 with the object of interpreting the measures of Government concerning the Muslim Community, and to lay before the Government the views of Mohammedans.⁵⁰ They fought for the recognition of the claims of the Mohammedan Community to a proper share of the State patronage.⁵¹ The society had its own paper which according to the view of the Government in 1881, was being conducted with ability.⁵²

ANJUMAN-I-HIMAYAT-I-ISLAM, LAHORE—III

This society was organised in 1866. Its chief aim was to give the Muslim youths a good grounding in the principles of their religion alongwith secular instructions, and to support orphan and destitute children. To this end by 1901, it had established a flourishing school with college classes and an orphanage. The movement, though it wished to effectually combine religious with intellectual education, did not indicate any narrow spirit of bigotry or reactionary feeling in regard to education.⁵³ The association also published textbooks for Islamiya School.

ANJUMAN-I-KHDIM-I-UM-I-ISLAMIYA, LAHORE—IV

This society was founded in 1888 for the encouragement of Arabic learning. Anjuman-i-Islamiya, Amritsar was established in 1874. Its object was to promote the cause of religious and secular education among Mohammedans and to look after their social and political well-being. The former society had a thriving "Maktab" of its own and the latter a high school in flourishing condition, by the end of the 19th century.

D—THE GENERAL LITERARY SOCIETIES

Of the purely non-religious societies, the 'Delhi Literary Society,' was the oldest institution of its kind, and was founded in 1865. Its main objects were the advancement of learning and the encouragement of social and intellectual intercourse. At one time this association wielded considerable influence, but by 1901, it was reduced merely to a recreation club.

'The Indian Association, Lahore' was founded in 1883 with the purpose of advancing the cause of political advancement and social reform. The "Punjab Association" of Lahore was a branch of the 'National Indian Association of London,' and was established in 1886. Its objects were: (a) the encouragement of friendly intercourse between Englishmen and the Indians. It had its organ 'Punjab Magazine,' a monthly journal, which, however lost its former vitality by the first decade of the 20th century.

'The Punjab Science Institute' was founded in 1886, mostly through the exertions of Professor J.C. Oman. Its main aim was to promote the cause of scientific learning and practical education in the Province. But in the later years of the century, this society too was only in a State of stagnation.⁵⁴

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16. Census, 1881, p. 138.
17. Bingley, p. 68.
18. Census, 1881, p. 138.
19. See Khazan Singh, Giani, 'Nirmal Nirankari Ithas', 1935, p. 19.
20. This Baba Balik Singh was different from the one who was leader of the Namdhari Movement.
21. See *Rawalpindi District Gazetteer*, 1883-84.
22. See Surindar Singh Baba, 'Nirankari Gurmat Prarambta, pp. 17-40; Khazan Singh, Giani, pp. 140-46.
23. Bingley, 'The Sikhs', pp. 68-9; Census 1881, p. 138.

24. Bingley, pp. 68-9. But this seems to be erroneous, he might probably have considered only Kesadhari Nirankaris and not Sehjdharis.
25. Kuka Papers, 1863.
26. Author's 'Social & Economic History of Punjab'. (Ready). Original Home 1872. judicial, Aug., 273-274, pp. 2444-49.
27. Original Home 1872. judicial, August, 273-274, pp. 2444-49.
28. Author's 'Social & Economic History of Pb. (1849-1901)' (Ready).
29. Original. Home 1872. judicial, Aug., 273-274, pp. 2464-69.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 2419.
31. These two persons took unduly serious view of the Kuka activities. In this connection, letter No. 857, dated April 30, 1872. from Secy. to Govt. of India, Home Dept. to Officiating Secy. to Govt. Pb. may be quoted:
 - 22.....His Excellency is under painful necessity of affirming that the course followed by Mr. Cowan was illegal, that it was not palliated by any public necessity, and that it was characterised by incidents which gave it a complexion of barbarity. That course was commenced in opposition to the spirit of instructions received from superior authority, and, in the absence of sanction... It was prosecuted to completion in contravention of positive orders.
 23. Under all these circumstances. His Excellency in Council is compelled to direct that Mr. Cowan be removed from the service. He does so with deep regret, as Mr. Cowan's previous character and conduct have been unexceptionable, and as he acted with promptitude in concerting measures for the repression of the movement.
 30. His Excellency in Council considers that Mr. Forsyth's conduct will be adequately dealt with by his removal from the Commissionership of Ambala to a position in another province in which he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of any native State, and by an expression of the opinion of the Government of India that he ought not in future to be placed in a position in which he would be called upon to exercise similar control and superintendence.
32. Punjab Census Report, 1881, p. 138.
33. *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 136-37.
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38. Khushwant Singh. p. 98.

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40. Report Shri Guru Singh Sabha, Lahore, 1880. pp. 54-55.
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10

Chiefs of the Punjab

A—SADA KAUR

The Sikh community is known for its daring adventures and a spirited and devotional courage, not only among its men-folk but among its women-folk as well. Not few instances are known, where women girded up their loins and accomplished wonders, where their men had been failed by destiny. And Sada Kaur is one of such blessed souls who have studied the pages of the Sikh History.

Daughter of Sardar Daswandha Singh Alkol she was born in 1762. Her family had a long tradition of courageous and brave doings, and brought up in an heroic surrounding, not un-naturally, she herself developed those qualities of human spirit, which people get only after devoted training under expert hands.

Sada Kaur, when she came of age, was married to Gurbax Singh, the son of Jai Singh, the famous chief of the Kanheya misl, who had played an important part in the early training of Ranjit Singh's father, Maha Singh. But she was not destined to enjoy her married life for long. In 1784, when the combined forces of Maha Singh, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and Sansar Chand Katoch attacked the Kanheyas at 'Achal, two miles south of Batala, Gurbux Singh was one of those who lost his life in the battlefield.

Thus widowed, whereas an ordinary woman should have resigned herself to fate and vanished into the limb to of oblivion, Sada Kaur determined herself to fight the destiny and carve out for herself a place known only to administrative and diplomatic talents.²

Shortly after when the father-in-law of Sada Kaur also bid her farewell for ever, she was left alone to lead 8,000 soldiers of her misl,

and to do as best for herself and for them as she could. The first diplomatic plan which sprang up from her productive mind was to end the feud between Sukerchakias and the Kanheyas for ever and to establish peace between the two misls. She proposed marriage between her only daughter Mehtab Kaur and the handsome little son of Maha Singh. Her purpose in the proposal being that she would be able to make Ranjit Singh as her stepping stone, and by uniting the strength and resources of the two families, she would carve out for herself a kingdom. The proposal was promptly accepted, but in the game of diplomacy, her son-in-law was more than match for her, and as the future history was to show, she herself played precisely the same role, as she had designed for the son of Maha Singh. One year after the betrothal of her little daughter, the marriage between Mehtab Kaur and Ranjit Singh was solemnised. This was done in 1785.³

Maha Singh died in 1792, at the young age of 27, and while at his death-bed, he handed over the charge of his 12 years old son to Sada Kaur. For about six or seven years, she conducted the affairs of the two misls, but after this Ranjit Singh came of age. There was no more a necessity of her putting herself to trouble for Suker-chakia administrative problems.

In 1799, as we have studied, the combined forces of Ranjit Singh and Sada Kaur marched upon Lahore and occupied the political capital of the Punjab. Here she played an important part in winning her son-in-law a victory.⁴ As previously planned, Sada Kaur marched upon the Delhi gate of the city, while Ranjit marched on the Lahori Gate, and after entering into the city, it was she who got bombardment on the walls of the fort stopped and instead suggested a peaceful plan of offering safe conduct and a good Jagir to Chet Singh if he vacated the fort handing it over to Ranjit Singh. The plan was accepted by both the sides. Later she played an important part in settling the citizens to peaceful pursuits of life.

Later on, Amritsar was occupied by Ranjit Singh. And here again she played an important part in getting the city vacated peacefully and in preventing any violation of the city's sanctity.⁵

In 1819, Makhan Singh, the Nazim of Rawalpindi had been killed while trying to suppress up-risings in Hazara. Hukma Singh Chimni, the Kiladar of Attock hearing this news, marched upon the

villages, the inhabitants of which had killed Makhan Singh, and reduced Sultanpur and Mora, etc. of these villages to ashes.⁶ He sent a report to the Maharaja suggesting that a strong expedition should be dispatched to Hazara to establish complete peace and order in the country. It was a formidable job, which only capable military minds could perform. The Maharaja sent Sada Kaur with Sher Singh, Sham Singh Attariwala and 6,000 soldiers for the purpose. A bloody action was fought with the rebellious elements on the Gand-gir hills. Sada Kaur is herself said to have led her soldiers with a naked sword in her hand, which inspired her followers. Just when the battle was at its hottest, she all of a sudden ordered her troops to move back a few steps. This gave an impression to the enemy as if the Khalsa forces were on their flight, they came out to pursue them, when to their astonishment, the Khalsa fell upon them slaughtering a good number of them instantaneously. The enemy surrendered, but some fled, pursued by youthful Dewan Ram Dayal, who was killed by them just when he turned to come back.

When Sada Kaur heard of it, befitting punishments were given to the culprits. The rebellious people collected together thereafter and sent their leaders to Sada Kaur to beg forgiveness. Sada Kaur thereupon called all the important persons of the place at gathering, and read out to them a warning that unless they behaved themselves properly, they would be seriously dealt with. Her way of dealing with them impressed the people and thus peace was restored.

After this, small fortresses and police posts were established at different places⁷ and Sada Kaur came back, and her services were very much appreciated by the Maharaja.

In 1823, however, serious differences developed between Sada Kaur and Ranjit Singh on Wadni.⁸ The Maharaja suspected her to be in correspondence with the British, and Sada Kaur was informed by him to retire herself from an active life.

Sada Kaur herself being by this time an old woman, desired it, and spent rest of her life at Amritsar, where she died in December 1832, at the ripe age of 70. Having heard of her death, the Maharaja reached Amritsar immediately alongwith Princes Nau Nihal Singh and Sher Singh and performed her cremation rites in befitting manners.

B—FATEH SINGH AHLUWALIA

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, who had led the Sikhs through many a difficult terrain, and who was founder of the famous misl of the Ahluwalias, had died childless in 1783. He was succeeded by Sardar Bhag Singh Ahluwalia to the leadership of his misl. Bhag Singh died in 1801, and after his death his son Fateh Singh came to power.

Fateh Singh had been born in 1784. He was quite young of age when he heard of Ranjit Singh's conquest of Lahore. He hurried thither, congratulated the Maharaja for his achievement, and promised his full support in the consolidation of Sikh Raj in the Punjab. The two chiefs exchanged their turbans in 1802, as a mark of perpetual friendship,⁹ and began to plan their future course of action.

Kasur had been giving trouble to the Maharaja. Fateh Singh accompanied him at the head of his 1,500 soldiers, when he marched upon the territory in 1803. Here Fateh Singh for the first time displayed his military genius, which made the Maharaja really proud of him. It has already been discussed how a tribute was realised from Kasur and the Khalsa forces returned.

When the Maharaja marched upon Amritsar, the Ahluwalia Sardar accompanied him in the expedition, and he, alongwith Sada Kaur, made every effort to see the things settled without any violation of the sanctity of this city of Guru Ram Das. That he was a man of patient and mature deliberation at this young age is further proved from the fact, that when in 1805, Holkar entered Punjab and requested help from the Maharaja against the English, he advised him firmly to desist from any such action, which should have placed the infant Sikh State in a jeopardy.¹⁰ It was as a result of his special efforts that later a treaty was signed by General Lake and Holkar, whereby some territory south of the Chambal including the State of Indore was secured to the Maratha chief.¹¹ How much was Holkar obliged to Fateh Singh and the Maharaja, the idea regarding it may be had from his own words,¹² which translated freely into English would mean: "By getting this treaty signed you have, as if, established my state anew. I and my family will never forget this act of friendship of yours."

Nor was General Lake himself less obliged for this act of Fateh Singh. Both Fateh Singh and General Lake exchanged some beautiful presents between them.¹³

In the Cis-Sutlej expeditions of the Maharaja, Fateh Singh accompanied him, as we have discussed and was given a due share of the territories thus conquered. In 1808, Fateh Singh led a successful expedition against Ahmed Khan Sial of Jhang, resulting in the annexation of that territory to the Lahore authority. We have studied how a very explosive situation had developed between Sikhs and the English, before the treaty of Amritsar was signed. The preparations from both the sides had been made, and it was timely advice of Fateh Singh which to a considerable extent, resulted in the signing of the Treaty. The proof of the part played by Fateh Singh at this time, is clearly available in Metcalf's letter to the Government of India, in which he mentioned as to how in high esteem was the Sardar kept by the Maharaja.¹⁴

Fateh Singh also played an important part in the Maharaja's relations with Sansar Chand Katoch, and in ultimate Sikh occupation of the fort of Kangra.

That Fateh Singh occupied a position of high respect in the eyes of the Lahore Darbar, is proved from the fact that on more than one occasion, when the Maharaja left on some serious expedition, Fateh Singh was left behind to look after the State affairs in his absence. This happened in 1810, when the Maharaja marched towards Multan and in 1819 when he marched towards Kashmir.

As we have discussed in the chapter on the 'Anglo-Sikh Relations' for sometime there developed some misunderstanding between Maharaja and the Ahluwalia Sardar, which resulted in Fateh Singh's trying to seek British protection. It was not long before, however, that the friendly relations between the two were restored.¹⁵

Fateh Singh died in 1836, three years before the death of the Maharaja, and in him Ranjit Singh lost an honest friend, who played not an insignificant part in the development and consolidation of his power in the Punjab.

C—HARI SINGH NALWA

Hari Singh was born at Gujranwala in 1751. He was only seven years of age when his father, Sardar Gurdial Singh died, and the child was left to his maternal uncle to be brought up. Although no regular arrangement had been made for the military training of the child, yet

by his personal efforts and interest, he is said to have learnt almost all the prevailing arts of fight, with and without weapons, by the age of 15.

It is said that the Maharaja used to hold a grand Darbar every year, at which young men from every part of the country collected to show their fighting qualities, and the Maharaja selected the best among them to be included in the country's forces. One such Darbar was held in 1805, in which Hari Singh having shown the best of his qualities, he was included in the Maharaja's 'Fauj-i-khas.'

Shortly after his recruitment into Maharaja's services, one day he accompanied the Maharaja in his hunting expedition, where he is said to have cloven the head of a tiger, which, according to Hugel, won him the title of Nalwa.¹⁶ The story runs that Raja Nal had been expert in killing lions, and when Hari Singh killed the one, he began to be known as Hari Singh Nal. The word Nal later deformed became Nalwa.

By his sagacity and prudence, and by his qualities not only of a soldier but also of an efficient administrator, the Nalwa Sardar had won for himself such a place in the heart of the Maharaja that once he directly told him: "To rule a kingdom it is necessary to have men like you."¹⁷

It was in 1807, at the time of the conquest of Kasur that Nalwa gave the first proof of his fighting capabilities.

In 1810, he led an expedition against Sialkot. For two days the Khalsa troops showed no decisive results, on the third day Nalwa mustering up a great courage, and with a flag of the Maharaja in his hands, ran up to the rampart, and scaling the walls of the fort, planted the flag. It was a signal for the army to make a determined dash and the fort was taken.

In 1810, when Multan was attacked, Nalwa played daring part of a devoted, soldier, and was wounded in the battlefield. In 1813, alongwith Mohkam Chand, Nalwa made a mark in his successful battle at Hazro against the Afghans. In 1815, he subdued some chiefs of the submountainous territories of Kashmir, including Rajauri and also collected tributes from some chiefs on the banks of the Chenab. In 1818, Nalwa participated in an attack upon Multan under the nominal

leadership of Prince Kharak Singh, and conquered the territory finally.¹⁸ In 1819, he led one of the three armies attacking Kashmir,¹⁹ and though by the time he reached, the Afghans had already capitulated, he subdued some of the sub-chiefs who still resisted the Sikh arms, thus ending the 500 years old rule of the Mahemmedans in the valley.

Later on he was appointed governor of the valley. And here again he gave a very creditable account of himself.²⁰

An important incident occurred in November 1821. The Nalwa Sardar had been returning to Lahore via Muzaffarabad with 7,000 troops and much treasure. About 30,000 people of Hazara collected at Mangli Pass and intercepted him demanding a toll. Nalwa tried to persuade them to desist from such an action; but not being successful in this, he gave them a square battle, and routed 30,000 with his 7,000 killing 2,000 Afghans at the spot.²¹ It was a resounding victory after which, Nalwa was appointed governor of Hazara.

Here again, he gave a very praiseworthy account of himself and was a perfect success where successive governors, Mohkam Chand and Ram Dyal had been stained. Sada Kaur and Sher Singh too had followed only a policy of conciliation. During his governorship of Hazara, he built a new town of Haripur, known after his name, and the fort of Kishangarh, which are living memories of his feats till the modern times.

At Naushera and Sangram, across the river Attock near the Shershahi road, the Khalsa troops fought heroic battle with Afghans twenty times their number. This resounding success of the Khalsa against so powerful in army in an incident in the Sikh History, which any nation in the world will be proud to own. The credit goes to Nalwa.

We have discussed, how Peshawar was annexed and what diplomacy was used in the execution of the design? And in this again, Nalwa had a commanding hand.²² The up risings revolt of Sayad Ahmad, a fanatic of Peshawar, had also been suppressed by Nalwa himself. Later when Dost Mohammad declared a jehad against the Sikhs, "Hari Singh, as usual, was impatient and wanted to have a straight fight with an army of 20,000 under his command, but Ranjit Singh ordered him not to take a chance till he came and tried diplomatic methods."²³

Later on, he was appointed governor of Peshawar,²⁴ and we have studied how and in what circumstances was he killed while protecting the fort of Jamrud, on April 30, 1837.

In money matters, the Nalwa Sardar was not said to have been very honest. And many times, it is said he reported false raids and appropriated money. Once when at a review, his battalions had been found below the stipulated strength, he was heavily fined by the Maharaja. When he died, he had a Jagir worth Rs. 3,67,000 of annual income, but it was all confiscated by the Maharaja, his son being given only a minor post. But this does not mean that the Maharaja was in any way less grateful to him for the part he had played in the making of his empire. The Jagirs were in fact granted for one's life time only with few exceptions, so that hereditary Jagirdars may not bring the evil which had been the bane of the medieval times.

When Nalwa died, the Maharaja shed tears from the eyes of his soul. He said that he had lost a 'Nimak halal' servant to the Khalsa.²⁵ And there was no doubt in what he said?

D—FAQIR AZIZ-UD-DIN

Born in 1780, Aziz-ud-Din was the eldest son of Faqir Gulam Mohi-ud-Din, a follower of medical profession. At a very young age Aziz-ud-Din was sent for training in his ancestral profession to a famous authority on the subject, Vaid Lala Hakim Rai.

Once in 1799, Ranjit Singh having some trouble in his eyes, Hakim Rai was called for treatment. Hakim Rai brought with him his genius disciple Aziz-ud-Din as well. The keen and searching eye of the Maharaja having fallen upon the boy, a couple of days after his visit in the palace, the Maharaja requisitioned his services from his teacher, and to start with, he was appointed Health Officer of the city of Lahore. A Jagir worth Rs. 5,000 of annual income consisting of Budho and Shirkpur was granted to him.

In 1807, as we have²⁶ discussed, the Faqir alongwith Sardar Fatch Singh Kalianwala, was sent by the Maharaja to Kasur, as a representative of the Lahore Government, to settle the affairs with the Nawab peacefully. The latter having shown haughty attitude, his country was attacked and annexed to the Lahore authority. On his

request the forgiving Faqir approached the Maharaja and secured the Nawab the Jagir of Mamdot, worth Rs. 52,000 of annual income,²⁷ which continued with his descendants even till the modern times.

The Faqir played an important part in the Anglo-Sikh affairs in 1808-9, leading to the Treaty of Amritsar. This created so good an impression upon the Maharaja that the Faqir became an official adviser to the Darbar in diplomatic affairs, shortly after and continued in that position till his death.

In 1810, the Faqir was sent with the Khalsa forces to subdue some territories adjoining Gujarat. Although he did succeed ultimately in the mission, he does not seem to have shown a promise in this line as in diplomatic assignments. In 1813, the Faqir was appointed as an administrator for Church and adjoining territories, and here too he gave a good account of himself. He was equally successful in some diplomatic assignments with Yar Mohammad and Sayad Ahmad.

In 1831, the Maharaja sent a mission to meet the Governor-General at Shimla in connection with his forthcoming meeting with him at Rupar. The Faqir being one of its members, he displayed his genius quite creditably. An interesting incident is told. It is said that during his visit at Shimla a British officer once asked the Faqir as to which of his eyes had the Maharaja lost during his illness. The reply of the Faqir was simple and yet so impressive that it completely disarmed the questioner. He answered that the halo of his Maharaja was so bright that he had never dared to see him in his face.²⁸

Dost Mohammad had never reconciled himself to the loss of Peshawar to the Sikhs. Having failed attempt to defeat the Sikhs in 1835, he now appealed to the Maharaja to send some responsible representative of his to settle the boundary dispute peacefully with him. The Maharaja considered none to be more suitable for the purpose than the Faqir, who was thus assigned this duty. Dost Mohammad, however had intended to play intrigue, and when the Faqir reached his court, he was put into captivity, and asked to send a message to his Maharaja to return Peshawar if he desired his release. The Faqir, however, proved equal to the occasion, and was ultimately able to convince the Amir of the serious consequences that he was entailing upon himself thereby. Promising to avoid retribution on the part of the Maharaja for his action, he got himself released. When the Maharaja

heard of it, he boiled with rage and ordered the Nalwa Sardar to march on Jallalabad forthwith. True to his promise, the Faqir, however requested the Maharaja to desist from the action and thus was a serious clash avoided.

A patient thinker, man of peaceful dispositions and benevolent qualities of heart and mind, the Faqir advised the Maharaja more than once to avoid a clash with the British. The Maharaja died in 1839, but the Faqir continued enjoying the respect of the Lahore Darbar till 1844 when on December 3, at the middle age of 45, he left this mortal world, and went the way of all, the poor and rich, the high and low, who played their part on the stage of life and passed away.

E—DEWAN MOHKAM CHAND

Not a born soldier, Dewan Mohkam Chand was the son of a small shopkeeper named Baisakhi Mal, of village Kunjah in District Gujarat. An interesting story is told as to how the one-eye monarch, Ranjit Singh, came to discover this boy and military genius in this shopkeeper's son.

It is said that once, in 1806, the Maharaja happened to come to this village on a tour. While his procession was passing through a street, his eyes fell upon a boy, tender of age, but with excellent physique and imposing manly looks. The Maharaja stopped his horse immediately, called him anigh, and addressed him thus: 'Come along-with me boy, and put your body to some good use.' The boy bowed his head, and began to run before the Maharaja's horse. Reaching the place where the Maharaja was staying, the Maharaja got him changed from loose dress into a military attire, and being pleased with his new looks, he put him under military training.

The boy was the future Dewan, Mohkam Chand. It was not long before Mohkam Chand became a commander of Maharaja's forces. he captured Kot Kapura, Mukatsar and Dharamkot, and shortly after, marched with invincible Khalsa army on Fridkot, realising from its chief a nazrana of Rs. 20,000.

In 1806, when the Maharaja crossed the river Sutlej to settle the dispute of Doladhi,²⁹ Mohkam Chand accompanied him thither, and on their way back, it was Mohkam Chand who marched upon Jandiala,

Budhowal, Jagraon, Kot Talwandi and Sanewal, and brought these territories under the Maharaja's subjection. Some of these territories were later distributed by the Maharaja among his friends—Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Jaswant Singh of Nabha and the chief of Jind. The Maharaja was so much pleased with Mohkam Chand's daring spirit, that he granted him a big Jagir of 71 villages, worth about Rs. 40,000 of annual income, including Jagraon, Mauza Gilakot and Talwandi.³⁰

In 1807, Mohkam Chand annexed to the Khalsa Raj, the productive and wide lands of the Jallundur Doab, and pleased with him, the Maharaja granted him another Jagir worth Rs. 1½ lakhs of yearly income and appointed him as Nazim of this territory. In the coming year, the Dewan added another fifteen villages to the Maharaja's territory, alongwith Himatpur, Patoki and Wadni, whole of which was later granted to Sada Kaur.³¹

After signing Treaty of Amritsar with the British, against the British construction of a cantonment in Ludhiana, Ranjit Singh appointed the Dewan to survey trans-Sutlej territories and to decide as to where could a Sikh fort be built to check the British designs. Phillore was selected by the Dewan as the best site from strategical point of view. The proposal of the Dewan was accepted, and the Dewan himself was put incharge of the fort's construction.

Sultan Mohammad of Bhimber had been giving some trouble to the Sikhs. The fort of Phillore having been completed, the Maharaja considered Mohkam Chand to be the most suitable person to lead an expedition against him. Although Sultan gave a tough battle to Mohkam Chand, the latter carried the day as a result of his organising genius. The Sultan was captured and despatched to the Maharaja in chains. The territory was annexed to the Maharaja's authority. Some people had been feeling restive in the Jullundur Doab under their new system. On his arrival back, they were all set aright.

Shortly after this in November 1811, opening ceremony of the fort at Phillore was performed. After completing the 'Akhand Path', the Maharaja held a grand Darbar in the fort, in which Mohkam Chand's services were highly praised. It was here that the title of 'Dewan' was conferred upon Mohkam Chand, alongwith a big and beautiful elephant, a high priced sword and a beautiful robe of honour, as a mark of appreciation of his services.

In 1812, the Dewan brought Kulu and some other adjoining hill territories under Khalsa subjection. It was Mohkam Chand who led the first expedition³² against Kashmir and secured the person of Shah Shuja from that country. The fort of Attock was occupied by the Sikh forces under the command of Mohkam Chand and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa. And later in the fateful battles of Chuch and Hazro as well, Mohkam Chand took a leading part thereby giving a crushing defeat to Afghans.

Mohkam Chand's actions against Afghans won him acclaims of the Khalsa and fame and name of one of the foremost and most forceful military minds of the Darbar. Before closing the account of the life of this one of the great builders of the Sikh power, it would be interesting to relate an incident in his life to show his love for the cause he had taken up.

In 1812, when the marriage of Kharak Singh was celebrated, Ochterloney came as representative of the British Government to attend the function. On this occasion, he took an opportunity one day of requesting the Maharaja to show him the fort of Phillore from inside. The Maharaja agreed to take him to the fort the next morning. But when Mohkam Chand heard of it, he took it ill, that an enemy of the Khalsa should be permitted to see inside of a fort, which may sometime have to be used against him or his kinsfolk. Before the Maharaja and Ochterloney, therefore, could reach the fort the next morning, Mohkam Chand closed its gates; on the arrival of the Maharaja outside, he took out his sword and presenting it to him he asked the Maharaja to kill him before he entered the fort alongwith Phirangis. Wise man, as the Maharaja was, he respected his servant's sentiments and told Ochterloney that he alone was not the owner of the Sikh state, he was only a shareholder with all the persons such as the Dewan was, and therefore could not do the things against their wishes. Ochterloney offered to go back without fulfilling the purpose they had come for.³³

Mohkam died on October 16, 1814, at the age of 71. At the time of his death he held a Jagir worth Rs. 6,42,161 of annual income. This was besides the Jagirs held by his sons, grand sons or other relations. This alone is a positive proof of the high esteem in which this son of a shopkeeper was held by the Maharaja.

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11

Defeat of Tipu Sultan

I

In May 1798, Lord Mornington, whom for convenience, following usual practice, we will speak of by his family name of Wellesley, arrived accompanied by his brother Henry as private secretary. He was only thirty-seven years old, and brought to his work a never surpassed energy; a vigour and centralisation ensued, in which, as in many other features, his rule anticipated Lord Curzon's viceroyalty. His despatches are stiff, verbose, dull, void of sympathy, humour, or imagination. But the mind behind them was merciless in pursuit of a few clear aims.

He found enough to set right, and wrote in a tempest of exasperation of 'the folly of having placed Sir John Shore' (now happily occupied with evangelical affairs in England) 'in the government-general':

'His low birth, vulgar manners, and eastern habits; as well as his education in the Company's service his natural shyness and awkwardness, added to indolence, timidity, and bad health, contributed to relax every spring of this government from one extremity of the empire to the other; and at the seat of the government established a systematical degradation of the person, dignity and authority of the Governor-General....The effect of this state of things on my conduct has been to compel me to entrench myself within forms and ceremonies, to introduce much state into the whole appearance of my establishments and household and to expel all approaches to familiarity, and to exercise my authority with a degree of vigour and strictness nearly amounting to severity. At the same I endeavour as much as is compatible with the duties imposed on me by the remissness of Sir John Shore, to render my table pleasant to those whom I admit to it and to be easy of access to everybody. I am resolved to encounter the task of effecting a thorough reform in private manners here, without which the time is not distant when the Europeans settled

in Calcutta will control the government if they do not overturn it. My temper and character are now perfectly understood: and while I remain, no man will venture *hiscere vocem*, who has not made up his mind to grapple instantly with the whole force of government.¹

He quickly had every subordinate grovelling. We hear no more of mutinous combinations of officers, such as star the records both before and after him. Lake, his Commander-in-Chief in the Maratha War, is terror-stricken when he has to confess that he has weakly given in to his troops' demand that the treasure taken in Agra be divided as loot. He gibbers his gratitude for a few kind words:

'Your letter of the 30th ult. has quite overpowered me, and left me with a most grateful and feeling heart totally void of utterance. Was I to write till doomsday it would be totally impossible for me to express my sensations upon reading your letter, and can only say in return that my life will be too short to convince you by my attachment to you and yours how sincerely I partake in every circumstance that affords you satisfaction and pleasure, and if by any exertion of mine carrying your wishes into effect, it can have in any degree proved to the world the expediency of your measures adopted upon such sound policy and judgment, I shall, to the day of my death, rejoice in the utmost that any act of mine can have added to the luster of your high and exalted character, both public and private....your kindness has completely debilitated me, and made me shed so many tears of joy....Pray excuse my saying more, as my nerves are quite unstrung by your affectionate attention....'

Wellesley himself provides the other half of the picture which such letters from the head of the armed forces suggest:

'In the evening I have no alternative but the society of my subjects or solitude. The former is so vulgar, ignorant, rude, familiar, and stupid, as to be disgusting and intolerable; especially the ladies, not one of whom by the bye is decently goodlooking.'²

'It is not possible to give an idea of the pleasure which I receive from your letters in this magnificent solitude, where I stalk about like a Royal Tiger, without even a friendly jackal to soothe the severity of my thoughts.'³

Though he pushed his brother Henry and Arthur with a diligence and rapidity that the Directors (and others) thought resembled jobbery, he discouraged undue familiarity from them. The future duke of

Wellington, in particular, wrote to the Governor-General with a dry reserve contrasting greatly with his frankness to his military friends, such as Close, Malcolm and Munro. He and they grumble among themselves, like the spirits under Prospero.

It is wellknown that Lord Wellesley established firmly what had existed loosely before, the subsidiary system. In exchange for the protection of a British force, states accepted a Resident and general control over external activities. This force was paid for by cession of territory, which *theoretically* had this value for the State protected, that it became safe from vexatious interference on account of non-payment of tribute. The advantages to the British were set out by Arthur Wellesley as keeping 'the evils of war....at a distance from the sources of our wealth and our power.'⁴ The system 'enabled the British to throw forward their military, considerably in advance of their political, frontier.'⁵ That is, the native states became catspaws; the military frontier to an uncomfortable degree they found was the political frontier also. The discerning among their statesmen were not unaware of the virtues which the Governor-General found in the system; the Marathas in particular shied off it with a pertinacity which the Governor-General seemed an exasperating form of bad faith, if not actual treason, a contumacy blocking his benevolent exercise of 'general control over the restless spirit of ambition and violence which is characteristic of every Asiatic Government.'⁶

We have seen that the Nizam, deserted by Sir John Shore, who refused to let him use his subsidiary force against the Marathas, had been defeated by them and their French helpers in 1795. He drew Wellesley's incensed attention by building up his own French force. France and Britain were at war; but it was French revolutionary principles that were dreaded even more than French arms. Sindhia (as we know) had numerous Frenchmen in his employment; but they were comparatively good Frenchmen, royalist and conservatively aristocratic in sympathy, commanded by the Court de Boigne, who had begun in Company service and to the end preserved friendly feelings towards his old masters. The Nizam's Frenchmen were a 'nest of democrats,'⁷ or Jacobins, as the Governor-General preferred to call them; *Jacobin* then meant what *Bolshevist* means now. Wellesley achieved their disbandment, in October, 1798, by a mixture of boldness

and persuasion; and the Nizam, who was beginning to get afraid of his Frenchmen, accepted an increase of his British subsidiary force.

Tipu, shorn of half his dominions, had made 'an honourable and unusually punctual discharge' of his huge indemnity. But he cherished an 'inveteracy'⁸ which 'will end only with his life';

'there is sometimes a kind of infatuation about Indian chiefs who have lost a part of their dominions, which tempts them to risk the rest in a contest which they know to be hopeless.'

Mysore had shown itself far the most formidable foe the company had met; no subsequent wars, not even the Mutiny, were to bring them so close to ruin as Haidar's had done. A quarrel was afoot between two adversaries who regarded each other as vermin fit only for extermination.

In 1798 Tipu sent envoys to Mauritius, who solicited French help. The Governor of Mauritius was foolish enough to issue proclamation of the fact; and 150 French and semi-French rabble went to Mysore as volunteers. Wellesley 'was thus afforded a justification, which he eagerly accepted, for the sternest measures.'¹⁰ For some months correspondence went on, of the most sweepingly dishonest cordiality on both sides. Wellesley was held up from instant war by the lack of equal zeal on the part of subordinates and the difficulties of the Madras Government, which owed 54 lakhs and 4 lakhs of interest. The latter wrote in terms of perfunctory and conventional loyalty indicating their readiness to co-operate, but made it clear that Bengal as usual must furnish all funds:

'Having made, the urgent and repeated applications to you, upon the state of our finances, it is unnecessary to recapitulate the subject here, but in the discussion of war, a matter of so much moment as money cannot be omitted. It is our duty therefore to apprise you, in the most explicit manner, that we must rely solely and unequivocally, upon your government, for supplies in specie...the scarcity of money here compels us to repeat, in the most unequivocal manner, that our means for equipping, as well as for paying the army, must depend upon the supplies of treasure which your Lordship in Council may be able to send from Bengal.

'We shall do ourselves the honour of enclosing, for your information, as soon as it can be prepared, a statement of the monthly expense of our own army in the field, together with a statement of the balance of cash in our treasury.'¹¹

The spirit Wellesley crushed, in letters blazing with wrath. Presently his brother Arthur, who had been sent to coach the Madras Governor, Lord Clive,¹² was able to issue a satisfactory report:

'He is a mild moderate man, remarkably reserved, having a bad delivery, and apparently a heavy understanding. He certainly has been accustomed to consider questions of the magnitude of that now before him, but I doubt whether is so dull as he appears, or as people here imagine he is....at all events, you may be convinced that he will give you no trouble.

Arthur Wellesley thought war inadvisable:

'If we are to have a war at all, it must be one of our creating; a justifiable one, I acknowledge; one which we may think necessary, not on account of any danger which we may immediately apprehend, but one which we suppose may eventually be the consequence of this alliance with the French and in order to punish Tippoo for a breach of faith with us.'¹³

But the Governor-General, in face of so many waverers, stuck to his plans:

Repeat it, I cannot, consistently with any sentiment of duty, consent to rest the security of the Carnatic, in the present crisis, on any other foundation than a state of active and early preparation for war.'

He used the enforced delay to make the conquest overwhelming:

Deeply as I lament the obstacles which have prevented us from striking an instantaneous blow against the possessions of Tippoo, I expect to derive considerable advantage from the success of that system of precaution and defence which I have been compelled to substitute in place of an immediate war.'¹⁴

He ordered the Nizam and Peshwa to get ready to fulfill their engagements of alliance. The former responded, the latter procrastinated. Correspondence continued, flowery in the extreme. Tipu exhorted Wellesley to 'gratify me continually with your messages'; Wellesley invited Tipu to share his exultation in the French defeat at Aboukir. At last Wellesley was ready. January 9, 1799, he revealed his full, knowledge of the pitifully feeble intrigues of a year previously and Tipu was warned that 'dangerous consequences result from the delay of arduous affairs.'¹⁵ He was advised, while he still had a chance to receive Major Doveton, who would explain terms on which a lasting friendship might be established. These terms, though Tipu did not yet know this, included not only final and irrevocable dismissal of French and the reception of an English Resident, but cession of his Malabar

sea-coast and of territory to compensate Nizam and Marathas for the annoyance and expense of preparing for war. Arthur Wellesley objected to these as not merely hard, but unnecessary:

I think it will be difficult hereafter to prevail upon any French to adventure in this country when it will be known that Tippoo has sent away those whom he took into his service under the terms of the most solemn treaty. In the next place, don't think that we have any right to expect that he should give up territory without a war, which even the most successful war might not enable us to gain.¹⁶

Tipu reported that he had 'been made happy by the receipt of your Lordship's two friendly letters.'¹⁷ The news of Aboukir.

have given me more pleasure than can possibly be conveyed by writing. Indeed I possess the firmest hope that the leaders of the English and the Company Bahauder who ever adhere to the path of sincerity, friendship, and good faith, and are the well wishers of mankind, will at all times be successful and victorious, and that the French, who are of a crooked disposition, faithless, and the enemies of mankind may be ever depressed and ruined....Would to God that no impression had been produced on my mind by that dangerous people; but your Lordship's situation enables you to know that they have reached my presence, and have endeavoured to pervert the wisdom of my councils, and to instigate me to war against those who have given me no provocation.⁷

He goes on to his often-quoted and rather pitiful attempt to wriggle out of what had been discovered:

'In this Sircar (the gift to God) there is a mercantile tribe, who employ themselves in trading by sea and land. Their agents purchased a two-masted vessel, and have loaded her with rice, departed with a view to traffic. It happened that she went to the Mauritius, from whence forty persons, French and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers, and the rest servants, paying the hire of the ship, came here in search of employment. Such as chose to take service were entertained, and the remainder departed beyond the confines of this Sircar (the gift of God); and the French; who are full of vice and deceit, have perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ship to put about reports with the view to ruffle the minds of both Sircars.'

Colonel Wellesley was shown to have been right in maintaining that Tipu would be only too glad to get out of 'the scrape.'¹⁸ But the Governor-General 'swept away ruthlessly and cavalierly, as

disingenuous and insulting, the confused and embarrassed letters written to him by his cowering victim.¹⁹ The time had struck for swift and strong advance; in England, also, things were going splendidly:

‘As to our civil and domestic situation it is equal to the proudest wish of our hearts....No democrat dare show his face—Government popular in every alehouse—Our Commerce and revenue flourishing beyond all former example.’²⁰

The waters of Tipu’s doom sounded continually nearer. His mind settled

‘into a hopeless and fatalistic despair. He could not steel himself to make any further sacrifice of his already diminished territories. He resembles a sullen and huddled figure, passively awaiting the *coup de grace* of a victorious enemy. In the vivid narrative of Wilks the form of Tipu stands out against a somber and lurid background; the fate-laden atmosphere is almost that of Greek tragedy.’²¹

His adversary, exultant in having at his disposal the ‘finest army which ever took the field in India’, flung his net. He wrote to Lord Grenville (February, 1799): ‘I have had the satisfaction to succeed completely in drawing the Best of the jungle into the toils.’ In the same month two armies invaded Mysore; one under General Stuart, from the Bombay side, routed Tipu at Periapatam, the other—which the Sultan hastily withdrew to encounter—routed him at Malaveli. The latter army pressed on to Seringapatam, an extraordinarily swift movement straight to the heart. The story grows Roman in its deepening and calculated and undeviating ruthlessness; Tipu becomes a Hannibal or Jugurtha at bay. ‘The dark obstinacy of the Sultan’s mind’ grew clouded with omens, a battlefield of conflicting superstitions:

‘the moolla and the bramin were equally bribed to interpose their prayers for his deliverance, his own attendance at the mosque was frequent, and his devotions impressive, and he entreated the fervent *amen* of his attendants to his earnest and reiterated prayers; the vain science of every sect was put in requisition, to examine the influence of the planets, and interpret their imaginary decision. To all the period for delusion appeared to have ceased, and all announced extremity of peril.’²²

Making a last appeal to his implacable hunters, he was told (April 27) that he must surrender all his maritime territories and half his dominions besides, and that half of a ruinous indemnity must be

paid with the sending of his ambassadors, who must be accompanied by four of his sons and four generals as hostages. He responded with 'mixed indications rather of grief than rage, finally subsiding into a silent stupor, from which he seldom seemed to wake.' Wilks's description of his council of war when the certainty of destruction could not by any exercise of imagination be any longer hidden is very moving. Crazed with humiliation, Tipu cried that it was 'better to die like a soldier, than to live a miserable dependent on the infidels, in the list of their pensioned Rajas and nabobs.' The 'solemn air and visible distress of their sovereign'²³ wrought on his officers, who called out tumultuously and with tears that they would die with him. On the parapet of the besiegers' trench appeared 'in full view of both armies, a military figure suited to such a scene.' It was Major-General Baird, leader of the stormers, embodiment of vengeful memories and pitiless resolution. The columns swept forward (May 4), and Seringapatam was stormed. Tipu, desperately wounded, was killed by a British soldier anxious to detach the gold buckle of his sword-belt:

'to complete our good fortune his body was found among about 500 others piled one upon the other in a very narrow compass. All his family and treasures fell into our hands that night, excepting Futch Hyder and Abdul Kaliz. The latter came in and gave himself up the next morning.'²⁴

His death glutted the conquerors' passion for vengeance, which had been raised to a fever by news that he had strangled prisoners taken in the present campaign. He was allowed honourable burial, this man who had carried into death such a vivacity of hatred that Arthur Wellesley, standing over him in the flicker of torchlight, could not believe him dead until he had felt his pulse and heart. His sons were treated by the Governor-General with kindness; there was nothing of vengeance or indiscriminate cruelty.

Arthur Wellesley, a young colonel of just thirty, who had not been in the actual fighting, was given the extremely lucrative post of commandant in Seringapatam a cruel injustice to Baird. 'Before the sweat was dry on my brow, I was superseded by an inferior officer.' Arthur Wellesley described for his brother his taking over. As the fighting had been exceedingly severe, so was the final storming, a setting free of pent-up resentments:

'Nothing, therefore can have exceeded what was done on the night of the 4th? Scarcely a house in the town was left unplundered, and I understand that in camp jewels of the greatest value, bars of gold, & c., have been offered for sale in the bazaars of the army by our soldiers, sepoy, and followers. I came into take the command on the morning of the 5th, and by the greatest exertion, by hanging, flogging, & c., & c., in the course of that day I restored order among the troops, and I hope I have gained the confidence of the people. They are returning to their houses and beginning again to follow their occupations, but the property of every one is gone.'

The Commander-in-Chief (Harris) and six general officers were censured in England for their greedy over-appropriation of prize-money. The Governor-General Declined £ 100,000 offered him, on the ground that it was due to the military; and took only a star and badge of the Order of St. Patrick, made of Tipu's jewels. However, the Directors in 1801 gave him an annuity of £ 5000.

It was universally acknowledged in India that the storming of Seringapatam was success equal to Plassey that had established the Company as one of 'the country powers'; this made them in fact the Power paramount. It was admitted that this feat of ruthless planning and rapid execution was the Governor-General's achievement, first of all. From perusal of the contemporary literature we get the impression (which is severely accurate) that 'glory' and 'glorious' were the most esteemed words. European literature of this period differentiated much in the varieties of *homo sapiens*, and 'the man of feeling' was a kind much praised. But the 'feeling' did not move beyond a turgid insincerity of response to natural sights catalogued as 'sublime', or such sentiments as we find in the inventor of Ossian. In all the voluminous matter which the historian of Indian affairs must peruse, only Burke (the much-abused Burke) reveals a genuine remorse for what ordinary people endured?

Tipu's memory has been stereotyped into that of monster pure and simple. But his character was 'perhaps unique in Oriental history.'²⁵ He had a spirit of innovation and curiosity recalling Akbar's; a new calendar, new scale of weights and measures, new coinage, occupied his energy. But he was a bigot, whereas Akbar and his own father Haidar were examples of extreme tolerance. He was determined

to extirpate intoxicants and drugs, even forbidding the growth of henna in gardens. Brave himself, he evoked the extreme of reckless loyal co-operation in others. His industry was as unremitting as that of this great opposer, his anxiety to strengthen his country with Western science and achievement was even free from religious hesitations. He was guilty, repeatedly, and against his British prisoners generally, of abominable cruelty. Yet British officers, grown accustomed to the wretchedness and servility of the peasants in their own Province of Madras, were astonished by the flourishing condition of Mysore. It was usual then, as in more recent times, to dismiss poverty as self-induced; the poor are notoriously lazy, shiftless and thriftless. The poor of the East, in particular, are incapable, because of climatic rigours, of real application. Sir Thomas Munro, however, declared of the Madras *ryots* (May 10, 1796): 'They owe their poverty to their government, and neither to their idleness nor the sun.' Sir John Shore testified of Tipu on the other hand, that 'the peasantry of his dominions are protected, and their labours encouraged and rewarded.'²⁶ Mr. P.E. Roberts supports this evidence with other evidence from men 'whose normal sympathies would have been pre-eminently British.'²⁷ A surprising unanimity on this point exists in his conquerors.²⁸

There is equal unanimity about the experiences of the wretched people whom we handed over after each war to our faithful ally the Nizam. John Malcolm has left an eye-witness's (his own) account of that potentate's method of collecting revenue (with British assistance):²⁹

'The scene which presented itself to the British officer was beyond all description shocking. The different quotas to be paid by each inhabitant had been fixed; and every species of torture was then being inflicted to enforce it. Men and women, poor and rich, were suffering promiscuously. Some had heavy muskets fastened to their ears; some large stones upon their breasts; whilst others had their fingers pinched with hot pincers. Their cries of agony and declarations of inability to pay appeared only to whet the appetite of their tormentors. Most of those not under their hands seemed in a state of starvation. Indeed, they were so far distracted with hunger, that many of them, without distinction of sect, devoured what was left by the European officer and Sepoys from their dinner?

This is the forgotten background of that never-pausing transference of lakhs to the use of the Rajas and Nabobs' and Nizams' masters.

Tipu's hatred of the English made his extermination their necessity, and is usually held to justify the distinction that Haidar Ali had just complaint against the Company (but for whose support of their Nawab there probably would never have been the first two Mysore wars), but that Tipu was the offender in the final quarrel. We do not propose to offer any guidance on this question; the relevant facts have been put before the reader. It is admitted that in every particular except energy and personal valour (in the latter he excelled his father³⁰) he was inferior to Haidar Ali. Haidar first discussed a matter, and then decided; Tipu reversed the process. His was a temperament which operated by paroxysm and subsidence.

We have seen that Wellesley with a fine disdain abandoned the material spoils to the soldiers. It would have been well if he had let his achievement rest thus. But his haughty and imperious spirit, like Hotspur's was the most covetous of honour of any alive, and by honour his age understood the outward stars which signified it to the world. He wrote to Lord Grenville:

'You will gain credit by conferring some high and brilliant honour upon me immediately. The garter would be much more acceptable to me than any additional title, nor would any title be an object which should not raise me to the same rank which was given to Lord Cornwallis.³¹

When all he obtained was an Irish marquisate, he went almost out of his wits:

'I cannot conceal my anguish of mind....I will confess openly that as I was confident there had been nothing Irish or pinchbeck in my conduct or in its result, I felt an equal confidence that I should find nothing Irish or pinchbeck in my reward.'

He Signed this letter (April, 1800) 'Mornington (not having yet received my double-gilt potato)'. The wounded mind continued, with an iteration dreadful to contemplate, to turn in and upon its own exulceration; he writes (May, 1800) of having to remain a country gentleman to the end of my days, talking over Indian politics with

Major Massacre and Mrs. Hastings, and the Major Majorum, not forgetting Major Aprorum.' Five months later:

"I attribute all my sufferings to the disgust and indignation with which I received the first intelligence of the King's acceptance of my services, and to the agonizing humiliation with which I have since learnt the effect of my Irish honours in every quarter of India. Never was so lofty a pride so abased; never was reward so effectually perverted to the purposes of degradation and dishonour...."

As this generation knows, the heart-burning which accompanies the distribution of decorations after a campaign is felt most fiercely in the breasts of the highest. Such a mind as this was easy to hurt to the quick.

Tipu's family were removed to Vellore, where they were encouraged to occupy themselves innocuously:

'There ought to be no restriction, whatever upon the Princes taking as many women, either as wives or concubines, as they may think proper. They cannot employ their money in a more harmless way; and the consideration of the future expense of the support of a few more women, after their death, is trifling. Let them marry whom they please. Their marriages....only create an additional number of dependents and poor connexions, and additional modes of spending their money.³²

His Muhammedan chieftains had nearly all fallen in battle, a circumstance greatly easing the pacification.

Two minor campaigns completed the cleaning-up. The first was against a Maratha, Dhundia Wagh, whom Tipu had circumcised and then imprisoned; in the final confusion Dhundia had escaped, and was trying to establish some power of his own. He had the distinction of furnishing Colonel Wellesley with his first independent campaign, one carried through with immense enjoyment and complete success. Dhundia's followers were refused quarter, 'for the purpose of deterring others from similar enormities'; and after he had been slain (September, 1800) his conqueror drew this satisfying conclusion: "We have now proved (a perfect novelty in India) that we can hunt down the lightest footed and most rapid armies as well as we can destroy heavy troops and storm strong fortifications.'

Malabar was pacified simultaneously. The Nairs—'I am informed, gentlemen, and probably the idlest of that character'³³ Moplahs, and other turbulent inhabitants of the Wynaad and the Malabar highlands had been for many years in standing revolt against Haidar and Tipu. They now found themselves rebels against the British, and the Iron Duke 'was unsparing in the chastisement of red-handed rebellion':³⁴

'I will give you pleasure to hear from Piele of our complete success in the Bullum country. We took the Rajah on the 9th, and hanged him and six others on the 10th.....'³⁵

Chased into his own homelands, the Raja had been captured starving, when he ventured out in search of food. Three hundred of his headmen were collected for what the editor of the Duke of Wellington's Indian papers has styled 'the edifying spectacle of the public execution of the most guilty', related by Colonel Wellesley' with grim jocularity': 'They witnessed *the suspension* of the Rajah and their brethren.'³⁶ Colonel Wellesley, however, stood out against the government of a country permanently by what is called military law:

'I am fully aware that the military gentlemen is Malabar are exceedingly anxious to establish what they call military law? Before I should consent to the subversion of one system of law, and to the establishment of another, I should be glad to know what the new law was to be; and I have never procured from any of those gentlemen yet a definition of their own idea of military law. I understand military law to be the law of the sword, and, in well-regulated and disciplined armies, to be the will of the General.'³⁷

In all this he had the assistance of Tipu's Hindu minister Purnaya, who showed great energy in obtaining from the Raja before execution a full inventory of his possessions of all sorts and in keeping his headmen hostages until they had paid up two and a half years' revenue. 'Purneah's abilities have astonished me.'³⁸

The Marathas had given no assistance against Tipu, and there is reason to believe that, if the British success had been less swiftly achieved, the Peshwa would have taken the field beside the Sultan's armies. Wellesley, however, offered the Peshwa a share of the annexed

territory, which the Poona Resident was instructed to intimate in the following terms:

'You will proceed to inform him that it is my intention, under certain conditions, to make a considerable cession of territory to him, provided his conduct shall not in the interval have been such as to have rendered all friendly intercourse with him incompatible with the honour of the British Government.'

The conditions amounted to an abrogation of independence. He was to accept absolutely the company's arbitration of all his disputes, present and future, with the Nizam; to promise the perpetual exclusion of the French, and to make a defensive alliance against any French invasion. A subsidiary force was pressed upon him, but as yet not actually commanded. With this offer Nana Farnavis would have closed, but his master, after 'vexatious and illusory discussion', 'faithless conduct', 'temporizing policy and studied evasion',³⁹ which pained the Governor-General intensely, refused it. The Nizam took his share of annexed Mysore, but with grumblings stigmatised as manifestations of 'the illiberal, rapacious, and vindictive spirit of which I have perceived so many disgusting symptoms at Hyderabad, even since the fall of Seringapatam.'⁴⁰

Arthur Wellesley advised his brother

'not to put the Company upon the Maharatta frontier. It is impossible to expect to alter the nature of the Mahrattas; they will plunder their neighbours, be they ever so powerful....It will be better to put one of the powers in dependence upon the Company on the frontier, who, if plundered, are accustomed to it. knowhow to bear it and to retaliate, which we do not.'⁴¹

The Company accordingly took the whole of the Mysore seaboard and big eastern strips. A much shrunken, but still large, Mysore was restored to the Hindu dynasty which Haidar had deposed, and became a vassal State. Purnaya as Dewan governed it vigorously and ably, and strengthened Arthur Wellesley's excellent opinion of him. When the latter left India he sent Purnaya his portrait and an exceedingly cordial letter.

Cornwallis, when he annexed half of Tipu's dominions, was hampered by the almost entire absence of officials conversant with any Indian language; Madras possessed not a single one. The soldiers

were better, in every way; and he had used Read and Munro, two admirable men. Yet when Munro later applied to be made permanent in the work he had begun so ably, Cornwallis at first answered 'that he could not venture to interfere, for it would bring all the civilians on his head.'⁴² Wellesley, however, resisted the civilians, fortified by his Arthur's objection to 'the Madras sharks.':

'I intend to ask to be brought away with the army if any civil servant of the Company is to be here, or any person with civil authority who is not under my orders, for I know that the whole is a system of job and corruption from beginning to end, of which I and my troops would be made the instruments.'⁴³

The affairs of Mysore were accordingly settled by a band of Commissioners whose brilliance equalled that of the famous band who settled the Punjab fifty years later. They included Arthur and Henry Wellesley—the Governor-General's persistent pushing of his brothers into one first-rate job after another excited the jealousy of officers less fortunately connected, and was one of the causes which roused in the Directors, such disapproval and distrust that they finally recalled him—Colonel Barry Close, whom Arthur Wellesley styled 'the ablest man in the diplomatic line in India',⁴⁴ and, as secretaries, Munro and Malcolm. India was at last attracting the services of the best class of British; the growing arrogance of the conquerors, which in the next twenty years was to set such deep estrangement between the races, was for a long while mitigated and its results in certain regions postponed, by the labours of men whom both India and Britain should always remember with gratitude. Such men as Malcolm, Metcalfe, Close, Munro, Elphinstone, Tod were the very crown of all that any country in the whole history of empires can show, and their service was unselfish and filled with respect and understanding of the countries they administered. Several of them began their work in these formative and important years.

II

During the century's last half-decade most of the great leaders of native India passed away, and relationships changed rapidly. The Nizam, after his humiliation in the brief period of his desertion, emerged as the Company's dependent, by his helplessness promoted to, and held

rigorously in, a firm alliance very distasteful to him. Ahalya Bai died 1795; her commander-in-chief, Tukoji Holkar, died 1797. Mahadaji Sindhia, who had formed such a queer friendship (if that be the word) or Warren Hastings, died 1794. The new Scindiah, Daulat Rao, was a lesser man, and Jeswant Rao, the Holkar who succeeded in establishing himself, a reckless guerilla who boasted that his fortune was on his saddle-bow. A new Peshwa, who was to prove a monster of duplicity and cruelty, Baji Rao II, succeeded in 1796.

The greatest Indian statesman of the eighteenth century, Nana Farnavis, through perilous decades had kept his nation, the Marathas, from falling under the Company's all-conquering sway. Courteously and without giving offence adequate for war, he had put by numerous invitations to walk into the parlour where Nizam, and Nawabs of Oudh, Bengal, the Carnatic, and several smaller rulers, were being entertained. Even when the Nizam excited Wellesley's indignation by flirting with the French, the Governor-General noted approvingly:⁴⁵ 'Nana has too much wisdom to involve the Mahratta Empire in such desperate connections.' The Nana, however was imprisoned by Sindhia, and released only after ten lakhs had been squeezed out of him. He came out broken in spirit and health, to take office under a Peshwa who hated and distrusted him. There was a complete slump in Maratha character at this time, an anarchy and desperate wickedness such as followed Ranjit Singh's death in the Punjab, 1839. As in that instance, it led to the coming of the British.

Wellesley had wished to ensure a moderate, but not excessive, enhancement of the Nizam's and Peshwa's strengths, as a counterpoise to Tipu. We are today sensitive about the charge that in India we act on the high Roman maxim, *divide et impera*. In the eighteenth century it was statesmanship's normal aim, and no one saw any hurt in it. Arthur Wellesley notes—and his attitude may be taken as that of everyone else, and the reader saved from wearisome iteration:

'There may be some who imagine that the best thing that could happen to us would be to see the Mahratta government crumble to pieces, and upon its ruins the establishment of a number of petty states. With those who think thus I differ entirely. Not only we should not be able to insure the tranquillity of our own frontiers, and could not expect to keep out our enemy, but we should weaken the only balance

remaining against the power of the Nizam. This, it is true, is contemptible at present, but in the hands of able men might be turned to our disadvantage....we ought to have such a balance as would always keep the Nizam's state in order. With this view the Mahratta power, as it stood prior to Lord Cornwallis's war, ought to be preserved if possible, and we ought with equal care to avoid its entire destruction and the junction in one body of all the members of the Mahratta empire.'⁴⁶

There are ideas in these words which later fuller knowledge caused the writer to abandon—for example, the belief that 'the Mahratta government' was in any way a unitary State on the lines of such governments as European States. Also, Arthur Wellesley was to come entirely over to his brother's frankly annexationist attitude, and to scoff at the notion that Indian States were independent powers such as those that spent the eighteenth century rearranging the European chessboard; they both later concurred in an entirely reckless and high-handed disposal of their 'allies' and semi-allies.

Historians darken counsel by angrily stressing the wickedness of the Marathas at this time. There is usually, however, some degree of precedence in scoundrelism; and, as we have seen, the Company possessed a flair for supporting the more villainous of rival claimants. They did so now, in Wellesley's incessant meddling with the Marathas; and did it without the excuse of ignorance. In the despatches and correspondence of everyone, the Governor-General included, 'imbecility' in conduct and 'duplicity' in character are the words automatically ascribed to his Highness the Peshwa. From first to last there is no expression, even of the vaguest, to indicate that anyone was ever so hardy as to hope to find in him a glimmer of ability or elementary decency. Nor was it easy as yet for the people of India to distinguish from the other predatory Powers belabouring them. The Company's administration had known a noble interval under Cornwallis; but so had even Indore, home of the Robber Holkar, during the far longer rule of Ahalya Bai. We need not take into account questions of moral turpitude, then, except where they definitely influence the course of events.

The biographer of Elphinstone, who was to be the main instrument of British business with the Marathas during so many years,

says of Wellesley's Maratha transaction: 'Our interference in their quarrels must be admitted to have been openly aggressive.'⁴⁷

When Nana Farnavis died (March 1800), 'with him..departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maharatta government.'⁴⁸ He had private virtues equal to his public abilities: 'a man of strict veracity, humane, frugal and charitable'. He died with a mind, filled with foreboding for the ruin he saw coming on his people. It came swiftly. By treachery Baji Rao obtained the person of Jeswant Rao Holkar's brother, and amused himself watching him being trampled to death by an elephant. This deed broke up what little chance there might have been of a united Maratha front? Jeswant Rao swept up to Poona (October, 1802), and routed Sindhia and his brother's murderer. The Peshwa fled to Bassein and applied to the British for assistance (December). Colonel Close negotiated the Treaty of Bassein (1803); the Governor-General had found the pretext for interference which he had sought so long and assiduously:

'This crisis of affairs appeared to me to afford the most favourable opportunity for the complete establishment of the interests of the British power in the Mahratta empire, without the hazard of involving us in a contest with any party.'⁴⁹

Wellesley had only one quality of greatness—tremendous driving power and concentration towards an end. He went through his time in India without picking up a single new idea, acting throughout on the analogy of the European governments which he knew before coming out. From first to last remote from the truths of the Indian situation, he judged aloof in doctrinaire fashion, so rigorously repressing any approach other than servile and subordinate, that enlightenment could come to him only within strict limits. Holkar, the most vigorous of all the Maratha chiefs, was of illegitimate birth; therefore Wellesley thought 'Holkar's accidental power' something which could be easily set aside. Holkar was in open revulsion from the Peshwa, Sindhia was mainly exercised far outside his home territories (in a prolonged effort to make himself the actual overlord of the Moghul Empire); both were usually rivals. The Gaekwar had long acquiesced in tepid friendship with the Company; the Bhonsla Raja was wavering between Peshwa and Sindhia, and himself claimed the legal headship of all-Marathas; the Peshwa theoretically was merely first minister of the Satara Raja.

Yet Wellesley writes of 'the constitution of the Mahratta empire', as if the field of concepts covered by the word 'constitution' were one in familiar Indian use, and as if this loosely feudal congeries were an 'empire'! When war became likely, he stressed the urgency of shattering 'the French state erected by M. Perron on the banks of the Jumna'—as if a gang of mercenaries, cut off by the Revolution from France and without access to sea, and in any case anxious only to make their plunder safe (which could only be, as they well knew, by the Company's protection), really were part of Napoleon's strength and effort! Everyone but the Governor-General knew the facts, but none dare tell him:

'The more I see of the Mahrattas, the more convinced I am that they never could have any alliance with the French. The French, on their arrival, would want equipments, which would cost money, or money to procure them; and there is not a Mahratta in the whole country, from the Peshwah down to the lowest horseman, who has a shilling, or who would not require assistance from them.'⁵⁰

In point of fact, the Marathas were the least dangerous enemies of the Company in India. Referring to Nizam and Zaman Shah (ruler of Kabul, and now in possession of Lahore, and a great bugbear to the British), Arthur Wellesley wrote: 'I am convinced that, were the Mahrattas to overturn both the Mohammedan powers, we should be more secure than at present.'

All India knew that the Company had not a single willing ally, except the petty Raja of Coorg; that even the Nizam, even when helping to break Tipu, was sullen:

'they all do hate him

As rootedly as I.'

Yet the Governor-General, though unable to help seeing, by the Peshwa's 'long and systematic course of deceitful and evasive policy', that his new dependent was irked by the bonds of friendship, nevertheless continued to press the other Marathas, Sindhia, most of all, 'to partake the benefits of the defensive alliance', the 'improved system which by the Treaty of Bassein now included their nominal master. Next, Colonel Wellesley, under no illusions—

'there can be no doubt but that the establishment of our influence at Poonah will be highly disagreeable to the majority of the Mahratta chiefs,

and that it will interfere materially with the interests of some and the objects of ambition of all'—

escorted the Peshwa back to Poona, and had opportunity of noting the ravage wrought by Holkar, his description we may accept as holding true of every region occupied by Sindhia, Holkar, or the Peshwa:

'They have not left a stick standing at the distance of 150 miles from Poonah; they have eaten the forage and grain; they have pulled down the houses, and have used the materials as firewood; and the inhabitants are fled with their cattle. Excepting in one village, I have not seen a human creature since I quitted the neighbourhood of Meritch.'⁵¹

He goes on to say, as he said repeatedly that sooner or later Holkar was bound to invade the Nizam, if only for subsistence. Indeed, the Maratha War was inevitable, if only because the Company's immense sweep forward had so circumscribed the territory within which that people could levy toll. The Nizam's dominions were their ancient hunting ground, and now neither furnished *chauth* any longer nor plains for pillage. The robber-State, whose original 'constitution' had been forced on it by necessity and approved by Hindu India suffering under Aurangzeb's bigotry, was in the position of a strong man forced to bay by a far stronger.

Nevertheless, the Governor-General did not wish for a Maratha war. He longed to gain certain advantages, the destruction of 'the French state', the retreat of Sindhia out of Hindustan (which would give the company a wide connecting band of territory between Bengal and Oudh), a similar retreat of the Bhonsla Raja from Orissa (thereby connecting Bengal and the Sarkars and Carnatic), and the definite recognition of the Company as entitled to settle all disputes between Marathas and Nizam. The queer thing is that he thought he could persuade the Maratha feudal chiefs to enter into these desirable arrangements voluntarily, and that his political thinking was so stereotyped and rigidly bound within European precedents that he believed that a treaty negotiated solely with the detested Peshwa would be meekly accepted by his 'subordinates'. His brother Arthur, writing to his fellow-officers with a freedom that he never ventured upon with

‘My dear Mornington’ (latterly, far more stiffly, ‘Sir’ and ‘Your Excellency’), very soon had the right sow by the ear:⁵²

‘The greater experience I gain of Mahratta affairs, the more convinced I am that we have been mistaken entirely regarding the constitution of the Mahratta Empire. In fact, the Peshwa never has had exclusive power in the state; it is true that all treaties have been negotiated under his authority, and have been concluded in his name; but the chiefs of the Empire have consented to them; and the want of this consent, on the part one of them in this case, or of power in the head of the Empire, independent of these chiefs, is the difficulty of this case at the present moment.’

The Peshwa was ‘a cipher, without a particle of power’. General Wellesley had

‘long been accustomed to view these different Mahratta governments as powers not guided by any rational system of policy, or any notion of national honour, but solely by their momentary fears or loss or hope of gain.’⁵³

There was, however, no question of their universal distrust of the Company, especially since Tipu’s fall; and no question of the anger felt by even the smallest jagirdars at the Peshwa’s treason in concluding the treaty making him a subsidiary. Resentment of that treaty was the direct cause of war; and it came because Sindhia made the mistake of thinking too much of former successes of the Marathas, in Hastings’s time, and under-assessing the Company’s enormous advance in strength.

Colonel Collins, a pertinacious but not tactful negotiator, warned Sindhia not to consult with the Bhonsla Raja, who had approached within eighty miles of his camp. Sindhia replied with insulting negligence:⁵⁴

‘Dowlut Rao....said that he could not at present afford me the satisfaction demanded without a violation of the faith which he had pledged to the Rajah of Berar. He then observed, that the Bhooslah was distant no more than forty coss⁵⁵ from thence, and would probably arrive here in the course of a few days; that, immediately after his interview with the Rajah, I should be informed whether it would be peace or war. These words he delivered with much seeming composure.

I then asked him whether I must consider this declaration as final on his part which question was answered in the affirmative by the ministers of Dowlut Rao Scindiah....Neither Scindiah, nor his ministers, made any remarks on the treaty of Bassein, nor did they request a copy of it.'

The Governor-General was naturally indignant; but his considerable patience with Scindiah contrasts with his ruthlessness towards Tipu. But there was no trace of the irreconcilable hatred that both parties to the Mysore War had cherished. British and Marathas had on the whole been humane foes, and the Marathas had been sometimes casual yet sufficiently useful allies. War, however, was plainly inevitable, and soon followed, between the Company and Sindhia and Bhonsla Raja. Holkar held aloof, sulky and conceited; the Gaekwar gave some help to the company, and the Peshwa, after much procrastination, furnished 3000 men (without any funds to pay them).

The company sent out four different armies. Those from Bombay and Bengal easily overran Gujarat and Orissa. Lake's army in the north defeated Perron at Aligarh, August 9, and the much-dreaded French officers came tumbling in, as fast as they could escape, and surrendered. Sindhia had to fight on without them, with that army of which Munro said:⁵⁶ 'Its discipline, its arms, and uniform clothing, I regard merely as the means of dressing it out for the sacrifice'. The Aligarh 'battle' had been a ridiculous affair, and the operations which ended in Aligarh's capture (September 4) cost altogether only 265 casualties. But the battles of Delhi (September 11) and Laswari (November 1) cost 478 and 824 casualties respectively; of the latter action, Lake wrote:⁵⁷

'These battalions are most uncommonly well appointed, have a most numerous artillery, as well served as they can possibly be, the gunners standing to their guns until killed by the bayonet, all the sepoy of the enemy behaved exceeding well, and if they had been commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. I never was in so severe a business in my life or anything like it, and pray to God I never may be in such a situation again; their army is better appointed than ours, no expense is spared, whatever, they have three times the number of men to a gun we have, their bullocks of which they have many more than we have, are of a very

superior sort, all their men's knapsacks and baggage are carried upon camels by which means they can march double the distance.... These fellows fought like devils, or heroes'.

After his victory before Delhi, Lake had secured one of the main objectives of the Governor-General, the person of the Emperor, who is regularly listed along with territories, etc., as if he were an inanimate piece of loot. He found him, a poor blind old man, seated under a tattered canopy. This was the 'Shahzada' to whom Clive and Hastings had paid such ostentatious respect.

Agra fell without a storm, October 17. Compelled to surrender to his army 24 lakhs taken with its fort, Lake wrote abjectly to the Governor-General.⁵⁸

'The army certainly expected the money, or I would not have given it them and I think they had deserved it. I hate all money concerns, and sincerely wish I had nothing to do with this; I have ever held money in most sovereign contempt, and shall I am sure do so to the end of my life. I have only to hope I have done nothing which can displease your Lordship, as that would take from me all the satisfaction I have received from our late successes.

It must be remembered that anything found in a city taken by storm was held to compensate the vectors for their perils and exertions; Agra had not been stormed, but these Indian armies were desperate men (the Duke of Wellington has left his opinion on record) and different from the Marathas and other 'free companies' only in discipline of valour. Muntinies were frequent, even among the officers, and provoked quickly, especially by anything that touched what were considered legitimate perquisites?

Meanwhile, the southern army, under Arthur Wellesley, on August 11 stormed Ahmadnagar, and on September 23 won the fight of the combined campaigns, at Assaye, with a loss of 2070 men, the stiffest fight in British-Indian history before the Sikh War. There was not much strategy about it:

'Somebody said, "Sir! that is the enemy's line". The General said, "Is it? Ha, damme, so it is!" (you know his manner) and turned.... The 74th (I am assured and convinced) was unable to stop the enemy; and I know that the sepoy were huddled in masses and

that attempts which I saw made to form them failed when "the genius and fortune of the Republic" brought the cavalry on to the right. They charged the enemy, drove them with great slaughter into the Joe Nulla, and so saved the 74th....the cavalry, which had then crossed the Nulla, charged up its bank, making a dreadful slaughter but affording a most delightful spectacle to us who were halted on the side nearest the field of battle unable to cross on account of our guns. The General was going to attack a body of the enemy from their left, I believe, who, when we had passed them, went and spiked our artillery and seized our guns, and recovered some of their own, and turned them all against our rear, which annoyed us a good deal. When the General was returning to the guns there was a heavy fire, and he had his horse killed under him....the General passed the night, not in "the pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war" but on the ground, close to an officer whose leg was shot off, and within five yards of a dead officer. I got some curry and bloody water, which did not show at night, and lay down and slept without catching cold.'⁵⁹

A triumph so overwhelming softened the Governor-General into brotherly cordiality:⁶⁰

'My Dear Arthur,

You will conceive the pride and delight with which I received the details of your most splendid victory';

And General Wellesley, having vaguely arranged a suspension of hostilities with Sindhia, proceeded to complete his work by scattering the Bhonsla Raja's forces at Argaon (November 29), where Sindhia's cavalry joined in a half-hearted resistance:

'I had no narrow escapes this time, and I felt quite unconcerned, never winced, nor cared how near the shot came about the worst time; and all the time I was at pains to see how the people looked, and every gentleman seemed at ease as much as if he were riding a hunting'.⁶¹

War was passing into the knightly amusement which only the Sikh and Gurkha campaigns were to mar with roughness: 'I stopped to load my pistols. I saw nobody afterwards but people on foot, whom I did not think it proper to touch.' Gawilghar was stormed (December 15). The Bhonsla Raja sued for peace, and then Sindhia. The company gained an immense accession of territorial solidity, the Marathas being

driven right off the Orissa coast and the Ganges valley. Both Maratha rulers became subsidiary princes.

Sindhia's overwhelming defeat had been largely due to his wars with Holkar, which had much weakened him; still more, to the Western training he had given his troops, which had resulted in a strengthening of his infantry at the expense of his cavalry. In the wars of this period cavalry were the determining arm. Arthur Wellesley with accustomed accuracy says:⁶²

'Scindiah's armies had actually been brought to a very favourable state of discipline, and his power had become formidable by the exertions of the European officers in his service; but I think it is much to be doubted whether his power, or rather that of the Mahratta nation, would not have been more formidable, atleast to the British government, of they had never had an European, as an infantry soldier, in their service, and had carried on their operations in the manner of the original Mahrattas, only by means of cavalry.'

He therefore thought (in this, as in an increasing number of questions, differing from the Governor-General) that Scindiah should be allowed to keep European assistance and advice; and 'they should be encouraged to have infantry rather than otherwise'. For the present, the British had routed Scindiah and the Bhonsla, and saved their excellent Peshwa:

'It is proper that the Peshwah should be informed, that, from the highest man in his state, to the lowest, there is not one who will trust him, or will have any connexion or communication with him, excepting through the mediation, and under the guarantee, of the British government.'⁶³

He 'has no public feeling, and his private disposition is terrible'; was without subjects,⁶⁴ except when a British force was actually at his back; and had no desires except money for sensual pleasures, and that what he called 'rebels' should be caught by his protectors and handed over to his vengeance. The Deccan, after ten years of depredation, was in a famine, 'which, in my opinion, will destroy half its inhabitants'.⁶⁵ for which famine Holkar, 'the most formidable of the three supposed confederates', was mainly responsible.

De minimis non cura lex; and Mars creas as little. Before the

campaign against Scindiah, the Governor-General had ordered British subjects in his service to leave him. Some had then served against Scindiah, and the local knowledge and guidance of one in particular had been extolled loudly by both Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General. Holkar forbade his British officers to leave him, and gave them the choice between serving him against their countrymen (which meant military execution if they were captured or he were defeated) and death. They chose death, and were beheaded. Even in watching the fate of kingdoms we may spare a thought to those so pitifully placed, and record the names of men both gallant and unfortunate: Captains Todd, Ryan and Vickars.

This was in December, 1803. Holkar proceeded to drift into a war in which he proved what General Wellesley knew already, that the natural Maratha warfare was far more dangerous than the acquired methods; that acute observer added that Holkar showed further that there was 'no frontier' in India, especially against Marathas. Lake wailed, of the drawn-out hesitations that preceded actual warfare:

'I never was so plagued as I am with this devil; he just, nay hardly, keeps within the letter of the law, by which means our army is remaining in the field at an enormous expense'.

General Wellesley noted the necessity in all-Indian wars (and again, particularly against Marathas) of having a part of the people on your side. Lake, too, looked longingly towards their late enemy: 'Sure I am that the only mode of meeting this reptile would be some decisive measure on the part of Scindiah'. Scindiah, however, smarting under recent humiliation and perfectly aware that the effective part of a campaign against Holkar (and the price exacted by that reptile) must fall on him, though he sent a body of horse did not help very cheerfully or earnestly.

'I do not think', General Wellesley wrote to Malcolm (August 24, 1804),⁶⁶ 'that the Commander-in-Chief and I have carried on the war so well by our deputies as we did ourselves'. Holkar's war, which ought not to have been more than a Polygar war⁶⁷ developed into a series of nasty reverses. Wellesley's deputy and lake's deputy, Colonels Murray and Monson, were both afraid of Holkar, and both 'fled from him in different directions'. 'Monson advanced without reason, and retreated in the same manner'. He had followed Holkar through the

territory of Rajput princes who desired British protection; had stormed a few hill forts, and then, finding himself in the heart of Central India with only two days' provisions, fell back, was pursued, lost his rearguard, held his ground against an attack before Mokandara Ghat, moved north again through black cotton country bogged with the heavy rains of July, spiked and abandoned his guns, and concluded a much-harassed retirement by reaching Agra, August 30. General Wellesley's cool analysis of the episode and its 'important military lessons to us all' moved Sir Robert Peel to say that he considered it 'the best military letter he had ever read' and its author 'the most powerful writer in the English language'. He may not have been quite that; but his despatches and letters at this period show that he understood perfectly all that there was to know about Indian warfare. He was much more, but he certainly was what Napoleon called him, a sepoy general—the best sepoy general that ever lived. The inept campaigns of Murray and Monson, in the latter's case the disastrous campaign, went far to undo all that the campaigns of Assaye and Laswari had achieved. The Governor-General showed a noble magnanimity:

'I trust that the greater part of the detachment is arrived at Agra, but I fear my poor friend Monson is gone. Whatever, my have been his fate, or whatever the result of his misfortunes to my own fame, I will endeavour to shield his character from obloquy, nor will I attempt the mean purpose of sacrificing his reputation to save mine. His former services and his zeal entitle him to indulgence; and however I may lament or suffer for his errors, I will not reproach his memory if he be lost, or his character, if he survive'.

Lake, meanwhile, was almost in despair, following 'this monster' (his usual name for Holkar). Lord Wellesley refused to admit that Holkar had any right to rank as a prince, or anything but a bandit to be hunted down and hanged if caught; and during 1804 there was much talk about supporting 'the just rights' of his legitimate brother, Kasi Rao, who (if we may take Arthur Wellesley's opinion as reasonable) would have made a worthy addition to the Company's proteges:

'He is an infamous blackguard, despised by everybody, full of prejudices, hatred, and revenge, and without an adherent or even a follower. By adopting his cause we shall burthen ourselves with the defence and support of another weak and helpless power, we shall

disgust Scindiah's government, and we shall not give satisfaction to the followers and adherents of the Holkar family. The act will be abstractedly generous; but considering that Cashes Rao was concerned in the murder of his brother, it will be to support usurpation founded on murder, and, for the reasons I have above mentioned, highly impolitic.'

General Wellesley found time, amid his greater affairs, to call on Nana Farnavis's widow (according to Lord Valentia, 'really a very pretty girl, fair, round-faced, and apparently seventeen years of age'⁶⁸) in the remote fortress where she had taken refuge; on his recommendation she was given a pension. 'She is very fair and very handsome, and well deserving to be the object of a treaty'.⁶⁹ He offered his escort back to Poona, which was respectfully declined; and wrote her letters which, nearly fifty years later, then a little old woman living in semi-squalor, she brought out proudly, to show to a Governor of Bombay's lady.⁷⁰

The Governor-General had to moderate his private feelings about Holkar. His energy was flagging; he was not 'inveterate' (to use the current term) against Marathas, not even against Holkar; and the Directors were writing letters⁷¹ which, while coldly congratulating him on his successes, made it plain that they understood the Maratha chiefs' want of enthusiasm for the Peshwa. But it is easier to start a war than to end it properly. The unlucky Monson was able presently to send word that he and his immediate superior, General Frazer (who died of wounds received in the action), had managed to bring Holkar to bay under his fortress of Dig (November 13, 1804) and rout him. There was also a cavalry victory at Farakhabad; at a glance at the map will give some notion of the way that Holkar was ranging over an enormous extent of Northern India, queerly enough with the support of the populations by whose pillage he subsisted. But Monson, having won a great victory, found force of habit too much for him, and fell back 'for supplies'.

'He might have spared a battalion or two to have fetched them....it is somewhat extraordinary that a man brave as a lion should have no judgment or reflection.....It really grieves me to see a man I esteem, after gaining credit in the extreme, throw it away in such a manner immediately.'⁷²

Scindiah, too, was discontented; and he had an accumulating tale of grievances. In February, 1805, he sent the Governor-General a long and unusually frank communication:⁷³

‘As the war with Holkar, in consequence of the officers of your Excellency’ troops thinking too lightly of it, has now run to a great length, and my territory has been exposed to the last degree of devastation, and as....’

He and the Bhonsla Raja were thinking that if they had only sunk their differences with Holkar, instead of first being beaten in detail and then serving as catspaws, they might have escaped being thrust into the position of subsidiary rulers. The Raja of Bharatpur had already decided to join the successful freebooter, news which was received with an outburst of rage and contempt. Lake added a ‘P.S’ to a letter to General Wellesley: ‘The Bhurtpore Rajah has behaved like a villain, and deserves chastisement; a very short time would take his forts’. The Governor-General ordered the annexation of his State. And Monson, though his supersession had been commanded, was allowed to lead assaults on Bharatpur Fort, which after repeated failure cost over 3000 casualties. Bharatpur acquired, and kept for a quarter of a century, a reputation as impregnable.

In April, 1805, Lake made peace with the Bharatpur Raja. But Scindiah grew more and more threatening. His father-in-law, Sarji Rao Ghatkay, ‘the worst scoundrel of those evil days’,⁷⁴ who lived till 1809, when a Maratha chief ‘transfixed him with his spear, and thus rid the world of a being, than whom few worse have ever disgraced humanity’, obtained a complete ascendancy in his counsels, and in his detestation of the British launched Scindiah on what the Governor-General with reason styled a course of ‘menace and defamation’. Sarji Rao was in intimate collusion with Holkar:

‘There is no vile act these people are not equal to; that inhuman monster Holkar’s chief delight is in butchering all-Europeans, and by all accounts Serjie Rao Ghautka’s disposition towards us is precisely the same.’⁷⁵

It came close to renewal of war. The Governor-General replied to Scindiah’s long letter of complaint with counter-charges, couched in terms of sternest severity, and instructed Lake to prepare for

hostilities. Scindiah took fright just in the nick of time; Sarji Rao's influence underwent an eclipse.

An increasing tiredness showed in the Governor-General's writings, and an increasing tolerance and even gentleness in his communications with native princes. His arrangement with the Moghul Emperor was humane and generous, and we may dwell upon it with pleasure. This unfortunate monarch, though indigent and powerless in the extreme, was consistently treated with unique respect. He alone was 'His Majesty', and not merely 'His highness'; by the eighteenth century, tenaciously holding to the titles of legitimacy and transmitted monarchy, he was scrupulously held to be apart from the temporary tribe of freebooting Marathas and usurping Mysoreans. Wellesley carved out a small kingdom surrounding Delhi for him, and allotted him and his family revenues. The British Commissioner at Delhi was responsible for administration and collections; but both were to be done in His majesty's name, and Muhammedan courts were to be instituted. It should be noted that events had, as a matter of fact, caused the British to suspect a deeper resentment and enmity in the Mussalman part of India, than in the Hindu. By depressing Mussalman vicerealties in Bengal and Oudh and the Carnatic, by extirpating Mysore's strong Muslim rulers, they had upset what balance of power existed in India and sunk the Mussalmans towards that decline and dependence which the Mutiny completed, and from which recovery has been so recent. Wellesley's action in giving the Emperor (who previously possessed nothing) at least revenues and a name of majesty was conciliatory and did something to restore the balance, atleast of repute and self-respect. The royalty thus established was deeply cherished by the Muhammedan population. It meant something to be able to see in their midst a court, however idle and merely specious, which recalled their vanished greatness.

Let us note, too, that in his instructions for the new Moghul State Wellesley inserted this explicit clause, from the law of British India:

'No criminal must in future suffer the punishment of mutilation, under sentences of the courts to be established in the assigned territory. When a prisoner shall be sentenced under the Mohammedan law to lose two limbs, the sentence must be commuted for imprisonment and hard labour for the term of fourteen years; and when the sentence shall

adjudge the prisoner to lose one limb, it is to be commuted for imprisonment and hard labour for seven years.'

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19. Roberts, *India under Wellesley*, 57.
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22. Wilks, ii. 363.
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27. *India under Wellesley*, 59.
28. Own sums up, xxvi: 'The flourishing condition of the Sultan's dominions, compared to other native territories, had impressed the English at the time of the conquest'.
29. Quoted from MS. Memoir by Malcolm (*Life*, i. 17).
30. Wilks says that, though gallant against Indian foes, Haidar shirked personal encounter with his European ones.
31. Quoted by Roberts, from Fortescue MSS. Mr. Roberts's admirable study contains much more evidence of this distress of spirit.
32. Colonel Wellesley, in reply to queries from Captain Marriott, in Mysore (Gurwood, i. 733).
33. Arthur Wellesley, September 18, 1800 (Owen, 118).
34. Owen, xxxv.
35. *Op. cit.* 141-2, February 13, 1802. See also September 18, 1800 (Owen, 118). The Raja had successfully defied the Mysore Sultan for many years.
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37. *Ibid.* 121.
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49. December 24, 1802 (Martin, iii. 6).
50. Arthur Wellesley to John Malcolm, June 20, 1803.
51. To the Governor-General, April 21, 1803 (Owen, 224).
52. To Malcolm, June 20, 1803 (Owen, 243).

53. To Lieut-Col. Collins. June 29. 1803 (Owen. 250).
54. May, 29. 1803 (Martin. iii. 163).
55. A *cross* is two miles (there or thereabouts): the measure varies.
56. But he had the advantage of prophesying after the event (March 6, 1804).
57. Report to Governor-General (November 2, 1803) (Martin, iii. 445).
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63. Arthur Wellesley, January, 24 1804 (Owen, 365).
64. *Ibid.*, letter to Colonel Close, May 12, 1804 (Owen, 393).
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66. Owen, 425.
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68. *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt*, 173.
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12

Annexations and Political Readjustments

I

Tanjore: Surat: Duncan's settlement of Kathiawar: Wellesley and Oudh: annexation of the Carnatic: Wellesley's asperity in despatches to native States: his wisdom in the matter of the Company's trading monopoly: Wellesley recalled.

It was Wellesley's 'conscientious conviction, that no greater blessing can be conferred on the native inhabitants of India than the extension of the British authority, influence and power'. Dundas, however, wrote (March 21, 1799) of the states which had enjoyed longest the advantages of intimate supervision of their affairs, with a studied moderation which should not deceive us as to the thorough contempt entertained, even in late eighteenth-century England, for the Company's administration and morals:

'The double Government existing in the Carnatic has long been felt as a serious calamity to that country. It enfeebles the natural resources of the country and, above all, tends to continue that system of intrigue and consequent corruption which has been imputed to the Madras Government so much more than to our other settlements. It is singular to remark, that the country of Oude is the other part of India, where the purity of the Company's servants has been most suspected, and that the same circumstance of a double government has always been assigned as the cause....Tanjore....is exposed in a certain degree, to the same inconveniences which have been injurious to the government of the Carnatic'.

In the case of Tanjore, it would be depressing to recall even a

few of the events that justify Mr. Roberts, who never exaggerates, in his conclusion that 'our connection with the country had not, on the face of it, been particularly creditable either to our statesmanship or our good faith.'¹ To take the story up in its closing chapter, in 1786 the Company, acting by the advice of pundits, chose a villainous lunatic as Raja. He was deposed after some years of mischief, and Wellesley inherited a disputed succession:

'After a most tedious enquiry, I brought the several contending parties to a fair discussion (or rather to a bitter contest) in my presence; and after an argument which lasted three or four days, I proceeded to review the whole case....At length the contending parties unanimously concurred in the expediency and justice of the treaty.'²

which ended Tanjore's existence as even nominally a sovereign State (October 25, 1799) and pensioned the candidate formerly passed over in the madman's favour.

Earlier in the same year the Nawab of Surat died. The Company, by arrangement, since 1795 had defended Surat Fort. So Wellesley annexed the State under a justification anticipating Dalhousie's 'lapse' doctrine; he ruled that, when the Company displaced the Moghul Empire in any district, it acquired the right to settle the fate and successions of principalities formerly under Delhi.

The Government of Bombay, Jonathan Duncan, carried out the annexation unwillingly. His own practice went to the other extreme; by recognising 'princes' all *Zemindars*, however petty, who paid tribute to the Mogul, he studded Kathiawar with the multitude of kinglets that are one of the most striking anomalies in the princes' question today; His Highness of Bikaner is reported to have stated that one of the Kathiawar 'princes' is sovereign of nothing but a well. Historians condemn Wellesley's action:

'The whole proceeding was characterised by tyranny and injustice';³ 'the most unceremonious act of dethronement which the English had yet performed as your honourable Committee will observe that his Excellency declares this resolution to have originated in the reciprocal aversion subsisting between himself and his subjects (an aversion, which, on his part, he declares to have grown into absolute disgust), and in his sense of his own incompetency....'

If his Excellency, 'should ultimately persevere in this declared intention'—and

'it is my intention to profit by the event to the utmost practicable extent; and I entertain a confident hope of being able to establish, with the consent of the Vizier, the sole and exclusive authority of the Company within the province of Oude and its dependencies, or atleast to place our interests in that quarter on an improved and durable foundation'—

then 'it must be deemed entirely and absolutely his own voluntary act'. The Company had long been past-masters of the art of making some vacillating Indian potentate, anxious only to evade decision, sign the order for his own execution. But that Governor after Governor should be capable of such contradictory tangles of argument and while plainly flaunting his own vivacity of pursuit and inflexibility of will should nevertheless asset that everything was done by the victim's free will, so that his after-wrigglings were arrant treason and 'Oriental' duplicity, helps us to understand why our dealings on the imperial stage have so often been misunderstood by foreigners as hypocritical. What followed was a repetition of earlier pages in Company history. The Nawab was offered a treaty; he pointed out that nothing was said about his successor; he was informed that there would be no successor, whereupon he 'formally withdrew his offer of abdication'⁴, and the Governor-General was 'extremely disgusted at' his 'duplicity and insincerity'. The delinquent received a letter remarkable even from the most arrogantly sure of his rightness of all Indian Governor-Generals. Waterloo, no doubt, was won on the Eton milling-grounds; but the Empire's administration was certainly learnt in a less public but even more terrible place. Wellesley, in a letter after letter, ruffles like the indignant headmaster about to flog a boy after scathing exposure first of his sinfulness:

'The duty imposed on me by my public station, and the concern which I take in your Excellency's personal honour and welfare, as well as in the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of Oude, compel me to communicate to you, in the most unqualified terms, the astonishment, regret, and indignation which your recent conduct has excited in my mind.

The reader will note that nothing' of the time-honoured formula is omitted; the castigation is for the castigatee's good, and is obviously going to hurt the castigator worse.

‘The conduct of your Excellency...is of a nature so unequivocally hostile...that your perseverance in so dangerous a course will leave me no other alternative than that of considering all amicable engagements between the Company and your Excellency to be dissolved, and of regulating my subsequent proceedings accordingly. I am, however, always inclined to hope that your Excellency may have been inadvertently betrayed into these imprudent and unjustifiable measures by the insidious suggestions of evil councillors, and being ever averse to construe your Excellency’s actions in such a manner as must compel me to regard and to treat you as a Prince no longer connected with the Company by the ties of amity and of a common interest; I trust that my next accounts from Lieutenant-Colonel Scott may enable me to view your Excellency’s conduct in a more favourable light, but lest my wishes in this respect should be disappointed, it is my duty to warn your Excellency in the most unreserved terms....’

His excellency was urged to see to the two really important matters:

‘namely, the reform of your military establishment, and the provision of funds for the regular monthly payment of all the Company’s troops in Oude.

‘The least omission or procrastination in either of those important points, must lead to the most serious mischief.’

The troops, at any rate, he was to have, whether he wanted them or not. They were sent, ‘and he was simply ordered to find money for paying them’. He was told that he could not alter this decision, though he might

‘present reasoned objections, to which he replied, not without dignity: “If the measure was to be carried into execution, whether with or without his approbation, there was no occasion for consulting him.”’⁵

This, the reader will see, was impertinence; and he completed the offence by pointing out that the disbandment his own army threw the soldiers out of employment, and was ill-advised enough to reinforce his argument by appeal to his treaty with Sir John Shore. Wellesley found this behaviour ‘highly deficient in the respect due to the first British authority in India’. The culprit was accordingly hauled back to the headmaster’s study, and told to be very, very careful. If

'in formally answering his lordship's letter, his Excellency should think proper to impeach the honour and justice of the British Government in similar terms... the Governor-General would consider how such unfounded calumnies and gross misrepresentations...deserve to be noticed.'

In such documents as these (a good many of them exist) the paramount power does not condescend to anything so essentially base as argument. The conduct in question is always 'unjustifiable', objections are 'calumnies', and of course 'unfounded'. 'If the party injured, observes Mill,⁶

'submits....his consent is alleged. If he complains, he is treated as impeaching the honour and justice of his superior, a crime of so prodigious a magnitude as to set the superior above all obligations to such a worthless connection.'

The upshot of a prolonged and tortuous business, in which the Nawab showed surprising spirit and a hunted animal's sense of territory where he stood some chance of safety, was that in November, 1801, he had to cede the territory that Oudh had obtained by the Rohilla War:

'By a singular reverse of circumstances the Company were able, after having pocketed the price, to seize the territories, and thus obtain possession both of price and subject.'⁷

'extremely rich and valuable territory, known henceforth as the Ceded Provinces', which Henry Wellesley was sent to govern, an appointment which the Directors considered nepotism, though we can believe that the Governor-General's aim was not merely to give his brother a lucrative post, but to be himself in specially intimate touch with the district. The remainder of Oudh became a State more abjectly vassal than any other in India; but there was this gain, that the subsidy ceased. The Company's gains were immense, in security of financial advantages, in strategy, in quietness.

No serious writer has ever pretended that the episode was from first to last anything but a bullying exercise of overwhelming strength. Wellesley did what little was possible to make things easy for the dispossessed soldierly, and even for the Nawab, to whom he had written so insultingly. But it is hard to follow Mr. Roberts when he says that the Governor-General

'looked through the immaterial barriers of treaties and agreements to the wretched condition of the administration of Oudh, which he so eagerly desired to rectify'.⁸

It is true that he refused to regard Indian States as genuinely independent Powers, and with some reason. But there is no justice in yourself 'looking through the immaterial barriers of treaties and agreements' when you explode with fury at every divagation of others from the rigid letter of any and every promise; and as to the 'eager desire to rectify' the miseries of Oudh—after the richest regions had been carved off and added to Company territory:

'The scandalous and shameless misgovernment of the country continued unabated without the slightest improvement until 1856, when the authorities in England insisted on annexation.'⁹

Wellesley's conduct would have been both more honourable and more profitable to both the Company and the people of India (whose interests still had to wait sometime before they were considered by the high contending parties) if he had acted straightforwardly on his convictions and made annexation more sweeping and thorough, instead of trying to persuade himself and others, to assert—with prohibition of any contradiction by the Nawab—that he was keeping promises and engagements.

On July 25, 1801, the Carnatic at last passed to the Company, one-fifth of the revenues being settled on the Nawab as a pension. The annexation was overdue and justified by every moral consideration; even Mill thinks that, done frankly, it would be an excellent action:¹⁰

'we should have deemed the Company justified, in proportion as the feelings of millions are of more value than the feelings of an individual, in seizing the government of the Carnatic long before; and on the same principle, we should rejoice that every inch of ground within the limits of India were subject to their sway.'

But it was not done frankly or decently. At the taking of Seringapatam Wellesley, to his intense glee, secured documents which he held proved treacherous collusion between the Nawab and Tipu. They proved nothing of the sort, and were merely flowery compliments; and the Nawab was so inconsiderate as to die while his conduct was under discussion. This evasion, however did not disconcert the Governor-General; his son had

'succeeded to the condition of his father, which condition was that of a public enemy....consequently.....the British Government remained at liberty to exercise its rights, founded on the faithless policy of its ally, in whatever manner might be deemed most conducive to the immediate safety and to the general interests of the Company in the Carnatic.'¹¹

Wellesley's despatches form what must be the most question-begging and self-righteous body of literature in existence. 'Rights' 'founded on' what? On alleged behaviour strenuously denied by the accused and at this very time under alleged investigation. Clause follows clause, every phrase specious and opposed by pleading protest; the protest is not even noticed, the doubtful statement rises instantaneously into a principle established and beyond query and deductions or supports to it are thrust forward—in the same infallible and unflinching fashion!

He put round the Nawab's palace a ring of troops, and on the very day of his death demanded that his successor, a boy under age (who 'had succeeded to the condition of a public enemy') should abdicate the sovereignty. Himself always loud in denunciation of the impropriety he found in the conduct of Indian princes, he acted consistently as if they were blocks of unfeeling wood, queerly warped into wickedness, but having no other semblance of response or responsibility. It is better to drop a matter so depressing to remember.

There remained the ever-overhanging cloud of the Nawab's 'debts', which we have examined in Book III, Chapter II.

To continue to quote the Governor-General's missives to inferior Powers will only exasperate the reader. It was not easy for the Resident at Haiderabad to carry out his orders (June, 1799) to rebuke 'in the most public and pointed manner' a noble who had spoken disrespectfully of the Company's government. Wellesley thought that the culprit should perhaps be deprived of his pension. The Nizam was commanded to be awakened 'to a just sense of the extensive advantages' his connection with the British had brought him. His dominions, 'formerly the most vulnerable', were now secure. All true; but hardly tactful. Fortunately, the Residents at the two courts most subject to the Governor-General's asperity were men whose revulsion from the duties so overbearingly inculcated upon them would induce them to soften his speech in deliverance. Major Kirkpatrick at

Haiderabad lived and acted as an Indian; Colonel Palmer at Poona constantly condemned the score of Indians, which was now the rule. They were treated, he said (1802), 'with a mortifying *hauteur* and reserve'; 'in fact, they have scarcely any social intercourse with us'.

When he moved out of the domain of the Company's relations with Indian States, Wellesley could show a detached wisdom in advance of his time. He tried, without success, to persuade the trading concern who employed him, to abandon a spirit of narrow monopoly that was extremely harmful to British interests. A very small proportion of India's trade with the West was by means of Company vessels; foreign countries, and America in especially, were thrusting into it. English traders, forbidden to do what traders of any nation but their own could do, worked through this foreign shipping. So did Company employees, secretly. Wellesley and Dundas urged that the Company should set aside some vessels for the use of non-Company British trading, to keep immense sums now being lost to aliens. Thus might 'that pre-eminence of wealth and power' (in India) 'which has proved so important to the general interests of the British Empire' be preserved and increased. But selfish views prevailed, especially those of the shipping interest, 'under a most false and erroneous idea that it is prejudicial to their interests'. His far-sighted policy offended the Directors almost more than the expense of his wars did.

Warren Hastings, watching with mixed feelings while Wellesley did all that he had desired to do but for which he had lacked the means and personal position, noted the unwisdom of the latter's habitual scorn of the Company directors: 'If I was in his confidence I would tell him that civility costs little'. England has never been able to regard India as a matter which came close to her own necessities, except in 1857; and the British Government, occupied with the Continental struggle, could not bring itself to believe that large armies and glorious wars were necessary in India. Assaye faded before the sun of Austerlitz: even Tipu was not the Corsican: the defeat of French men-of-war off Malacca by merchantmen that they intended to plunder, though gratifying to national pride, was not Trafalgar. These Indian wars were costly. These princes that we engaged to support seemed more deserving of being left to such fate as the devious twist of events might bring them. Wellesley was recalled (1805) under a cloud, even amid

mutterings of impeachment. But no one wanted to renew the idle show which the persecution of Hastings had provided. The Directors concurred in his observation that 'the disturbances occasioned by Jeswunt Rao Holkar and his adherents have proved a vexatious and painful interruption of tranquillity';¹² saw through his half-hearted assurances that matter was now practically settled; and were weary of the whole business. Lord Cornwallis was sent back, though in age and failing strength, King Log in place of King Stork.

II

Death of Lord Cornwallis: Sir George Barlow's administration: abandonment of Rajput chiefs to Marathas: death of Krishna Kumari: character of a 'bureaucracy: Vellore Mutiny: Lord Minto's arrival and character: some 'little wars': Metcalfe's embassy to Ranjit Singh: conquest of Java: a missionary controversy: ecclesiastics and dacoits: the Governor-General's establishment: Sir Charles Metcalfe: the mutiny'.

Lord Cornwallis, whose return had been fitfully imminent ever since he left, and whom Pitt 'regarded as an infallible cure for all ills',¹³ governed for two months, dying October 5, 1805, at Ghazipur, where he was buried in accordance with his injunction, 'Where the tree falls let it lie'. An excessively sick man, he sought only peace, for which it is the custom to censure him. But the man who had himself seen the squalor and ugliness of war, how wretched in defeat, how melancholy in triumph, is less enthusiastic about it than the man who knows it merely as a sequence of exciting rumours and happy intrigues. The old warrior was so weary of pomp and the trappings of reality, that the rejected titles of 'Excellency' and 'Most Noble', and all the grandeur of Wellesley's time.

The charge of pusillanimity is brought against him and his immediate successor, Sir George Barlow (who had been senior member of his Council), for abandoning the Rajputs to the Marathas (as Cornwallis and Sir John Shore had formerly abandoned the Nizam, and for the same reasons). It is a shameful enough story; yet these inevitable recoils follow on policies of aggression and vigour beyond a Government's power to sustain. In essentials it does not differ from such later abandonments as those of Assyrians or Druses, after they had been encouraged to show friendliness to British effort in the World War. Wellesley had sown native India with distrust, and piled up

indebtedness. It is generally overlooked that it was actually in his time that the process of withdrawal began, in those last days when there was a distinct flagging of energy and outward thrust. When the Maharaja of Jodhpur did not choose to accept the Governor-General's conditions of protection, Sciendiah had received what looked uncommonly like a direct invitation to handle him in his own way—the Raja being delivered over to Satan, that he might be taught not to blaspheme:

‘The British Government has no intention to interfere in any a manner between your Highness and the Rajah of Jodepore....Your Highness will act according to your pleasure towards that Raja’.¹⁴

His Highness did.

Even more did Holkar and his Pathan ally, Amir Khan, act according to their pleasure towards the Rajput chiefs. Holkar, after being harried into the Punjab—the Sikhs neither helped his pursuers nor molested him, but watched the double incursion, and drew conclusions which kept peace between Ranjit Singh and the Company until his death (1839)—was given generous terms by barlow. His persecutors withdrew to their own territory, leaving the Marathas, hemmed in between Sikhs and Company, to pour out their profligacy of pillage on the confined Rajput area. The oppressed openly put up the plea that the Company had in fact succeeded to the paramouncy of the Moguls, and were under obligation to succour the weak. But the plea went unheeded. Inward decay worked with outward pressure, as commonly in such circumstances. The Rajput rulers were degenerates, and all the barbaric cruelty miscalled Rajput chivalry—such as widow-burning, often on a terrific scale (the saner and humaner Marathas disdained while not actually prohibiting the rite)—was allowed to keep this attractive race on a childish savage level.

There is generally some one incident, when the affairs of any nation have sunk into squalor, which to men's imaginations seems to fling a torch up against the truth. It came now, in the death of Krishna Kumari, the lovely Udaipur princess, in 1807. When internecine war, fomented by Sciendiah and Amir Khan, broke out about the hand of the girl-princess, her father accepted the suggestion that she should drink poison and in that fashion bring his people peace. Her patience and valour and the pity of her passing—though to us this will seem a

merciful anticipation of death on some warrior's funeral pyre—have never ceased to stir Indian memory.

Sir George Barlow, after some vacillation, was not permanently appointed. He is usually considered (and was considered at the time) to prove once more the utter unfitness of any Company man to take up the supreme authority. A Governor-General of these antecedents was apt to be ill served, from the jealousy of his late equals above whom his new authority had raised him. Also, the Company's administration was already shedding—except in 'frontier' regions, such as the annexed parts of Mysore and Malabar (as, later, in the Punjab of the Lawrences)—its earlier improvised and vigorous character, and was accumulating all the merits and shortcomings ascribed to 'bureaucracy'. The Company man now, said Thomas Munro.

'learns forms before he learns things. He comes full of the respect due to the court. but knows nothing of people. He is placed too high above them to have any general intercourse with them. He has little opportunity of seeing them except in court. He sees only the worst part of them, and under the worst shapes; he sees them as plaintiff and defendant, exasperated against each other, or as criminals; and the unfavourable opinion with which he too often, at first, enters among them....is every day strengthened and increased. he acquires it is true, habits of cautious examination, and of precision and regularity but they are limited to a particular object. and are frequently attended with dilatoriness, too little regard for the value of time, and an inaptitude for general affairs, which require a man to pass readily from one subject to another.'¹⁵

Barlow had willingly seconded Wellesley's imperial schemes; he was equally ready to support the Directors' new opposite policy of retrenchment and retreat.

The main event of his brief administration was the Vellore Mutiny. The Madras Commander-in-Chief ordered the sepoys to wear a special and obnoxious turban, trim their beards as directed, and give up caste marks. These 'ill-judged regulations'¹⁶ were considered important enough to risk empire for; Munro told the Governor, Lord William Bentinck:¹⁷

'However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the sepoys Christians.'

To us, conscious of our absolute impartiality in religious matters, this general opinion seems silly in the extreme. But in a country which remembered Tipu Sultan's measures to make Hindu Mussalmans it spread easily. A regiment declined to obey the new orders; and when two ringleaders were awarded 900 lashes apiece, the sepoy rose and massacred two European companies. Gillespie raced in with his galloper guns, stormed Vellore, and rescued the besieged survivors. The inevitable crop of executions followed. In every detail the episode is a little rehearsal of the Mutiny of 1857, and it thrilled British India with a horror unparalleled until that later event swept it into oblivion. Since Tipu's family and the concomitant swarm of hangers-on of Indian royalty and semi-royalty resided at Vellore, their complicity was suspected, and they were certainly an aggravating factor in what was partly a Hindu revolt?

Lord Minto, the new Governor-General, passed through Madras when the business was finishing. Like most men who have ever come to India fresh from the outside world, he was surprised by the atmosphere which he found:

'The mutual ignorance of each others' motives, intentions, and actions, in which Europeans and natives seemed content to live, had forcibly struck Lord Minto during his short residence in Madras in 1807. 'I do not believe that either Lord William or Sir John Cradock had the slightest idea of the aversion their measures would excite. I fully believe that their intentions were totally misapprehended by the natives.'¹⁸

He considered that the directors made a mistake in recalling the Governor and his Commander-in-Chief; since the chiefs of army and administration were dismissed, the sepoy executed under their orders would be regarded as justified, and be made into martyrs. Here, again, we hear a familiar argument; and are reminded that in every period of British-Indian history all strata of opinion have been simultaneously present, the 'diehard' and the 'bolshy', the modern and the medieval.

A devoted friend of Burke, Minto had been one of the managers of Warren Hastings' impeachment. He was a quiet, humane, experienced man: 'Of as courtly manners as Lord Wellesley; but though he is less lively, he is far more finished and elegant'.¹⁹ His term was one of steady progress. He modified the policy of non-

intervention carried to extremes, but never resumed Wellesley's high-handedness. When Amir Khan, in 1809, invaded Berar, he observed, with that dryness and cool lack of emotion which make his despatches such a change from Wellesley's:

'It has not perhaps been sufficiently considered that every native State in India is a military despotism; that war and conquest are avowed as the first and legitimate pursuit of every sovereign or chief, and the sole source of glory and renown; it is not therefore a mere conjecture deduced from the natural bias of the human mind, and the test of general experience, but a certain conviction founded on a avowed principles of action and systematic view that among the military states and chiefs of India the pursuits of ambition can alone be bounded by the inability to prosecute them'.

After what may be felt to be this 'glimpse into the obvious' he goes on to note that British interests should be the factor deciding

'whether it was expedient to observe a strict neutrality amidst these scenes of disorder and outrage which were passing under our eyes in the north of Hindostan, or whether we should listen to the calls of suffering humanity':

and referred to the directors, who replied that they thought non-interference could be carried a great deal too far, a change from their feeling of only a year or two back. Minto had meanwhile chased Amir Khan out of Berar, and occupied his homeland and capital. The company then relaxed its grasp, and the freebooter was left at liberty to harry people not actually its allies.

Minto's rule was marked by a number of 'little wars', reducing turbulent chiefs in Bandalkhand, and punishing a Travancore outbreak (due to offended religious susceptibilities) in which thirty European soldiers were murdered. He had next to give some attention to Ranjit Singh, who had established a Sikh State in the Punjab and, after conquering the smaller Sikh chiefs north of the Satlej, was threatening those on its southern bank. Charles Metcalfe was sent to him to negotiate an understanding. Metcalfe, in the last Maratha War, when only nineteen, had been General Lake's political officer. Now, at twenty-four,²⁰ he had won golden opinion, including Lord Minto's: 'he really is the ugliest and most agreeable clever person—except Lady Glenbervie—in Europe or Asia'.

The Sikh Power was regarded as an extension into India of the block of great Central Asian States, vaguely known and distrusted, Afghanistan, Persia, the Turkestan khanates. Russia was beginning to emerge as the main foreign bugbear, but had not yet ousted France from this position, despite Napoleon's navel disasters. The Company kept nervously looking towards Persia and the frontier lands. Malcolm was twice sent to Persia, the first time making a good impression, the second time erring by arrogant demand that the envoy of France and Russia (the latter obviously in a far better position to damage Persia than the far-off Indian Government) be dismissed. It is only fair to remember that in his second visit he was hampered by the presence of a rival embassy, sent direct from England; the Shah not unreasonably kept asking which embassy he was to attend to. Elphinstone (who was one of the great four who are England's glory in the next twenty years—Malcolm, Metcalfe, and Munro (who belonged to an earlier generation) are the other three) was sent to Kabul, 1808, but, merely reached Peshawar, where he set up with Shah Suja, the Afghan Amir, who was dethroned shortly afterwards, cloudy but friendly relations which had a deplorable sequel in Lord Aucklands time.

Metcalfe's embassy proved the most difficult and most successful of all. Ranjit Singh was jealous and suspicious; it was true that his aggrandisement had been swift and great, but it was nothing to the progress he had seen made by the Company. Though the young envoy impressed him, he plainly hinted that he did not want him. Metcalfe followed the Sikh ruler about: and his patience and firmness, seconded by Minto's firmness, won, after immense delay. In December, 1808, when Ranjit Singh was sunk in a prolonged debauch, he sent him a severely worded warning that the British Government insisted on taking under their protection the Cis-Satlej Sikh States Nabha, Jhind, Faridkote, Patiala. Reading it, the Raja staggered as from 'sudden shock'; the dreaded foreigners were henceforward camped on his doorstep. He spoke humbly to the bearer, Metcalfe's confidential *munshi*; but immediately fled from politics to a Mussalman dancing-girl, conduct which so pained the priests of the Golden Temple at Amritsar that they laid the shopkeepers under an interdict (*hartal*): 'There was a great strife between the Temporal and the Spiritual power; and the former was worsted in the encounter'.²¹ Ranjit fled to

Lahore, followed by the pertinacious young envoy. Ranjit grew 'careworn and thoughtful'; Hindus were sitting *dharna* at his gates his people were beseeching a peaceful settlement. His ministers,

'tried to reconcile Metcalfe to the eccentricities of their chief: but the English gentleman had answered with becoming firmness that although the eccentricities were sufficiently apparent, he could not admit that they furnished any justification for his conduct.'²²

Brought to bay, Ranjit demanded *why* he should have to give up places he had already captured. Metcalfe told him, because the British Government intended to protect them. After a final interview, metcalfe to his astonishment saw the Raja, with 'surprising levity', a phrase which indicates the psychological dullness which went with such high qualities in so many Company's men, riding his favourite horse, round and round his courtyard. The *Times* in December, 1839, gave this incident the proper journalistic picturesqueness by making him gallop madly over the confined space; Metcalfe said 'prancing'. Ranjit Singh by his body was trying to expel the demons of anger and perplexity. More interviews followed. Then Metcalfe²³ lost temper and prepared to leave. General Ochterlony appeared on the Satlej; other troops were moving up in support of his contingent. Again Ranjit Singh turned to his courtesans from which 'pleasant forgetfulness Metcalfe roused him by a missive, which flashed the sunlight into his sleeping face':²⁴

'The Maharajah is revelling in delight in the Shalimar gardens, unmindful of the duties of Friendship. What Friendship requires is not done, nor is it doing?'

He demanded his dismissal. Ranjit replied humbly 'that the delights of the garden of Friendship far exceeded the delights of a garden of roses', and Metcalfe got his treaty, a treaty of immense value, since it kept the peace over so many years between the two greatest armies in India.

In 1765 Clive had put down a mutiny of the officers of the Bengal army; since then 'scarce a decade had passed without an open struggle between the military and the civil power'.²⁵ Mutinies were periodic, and the mutineers usually won, which 'justified the belief that representations made by numbers and supported by clamour would not fail.'²⁶ in 1808 the Bombay officers almost mutinied because it was found that a cavalry regiment might be more conveniently raised

at Madras. In Madras next year the Government, driven by the Directors, who 'threatened to take the pruning knife into their own hands',²⁷ asked their Quartermaster-General to draw up a report on a system which gave the commanding officers of regiments tent allowances for their men, whether they were in the field or in cantonments. He found the system was regularly abused, whereupon the officers called on the Commander-in-Chief complied; but Barlow, who had gone to Madras as Governor, countermanded his action. Then the former, whose soreness at his exclusion from a place on the Council made him unwearied in forming a party for himself, confronted Barlow with a mutiny. The officers in many large stations.

'talked of fighting against a tyrannical Government in defence of their rights to the last drop of their blood. Seditious toasts were given at the mess tables, and drunk with uproarious applause. From day to day tidings went forth from one excited station to another—tidings of progressive insubordination which fortified with assurances of sympathy and support the insane resolves of the scattered mutineers.....The moral intoxication pervaded all ranks from the colonel to the ensign'.²⁹

At Masulipatam the officers put their commanding officer under arrest and seized the fort; Seringapatam followed suit. Malcolm, sent to Masulipatam, wrote back

'that there was not a Company's corps from Cape Comorin to Ganjam that was not implicated in the general guilt—that is not pledged to rise against Government unless what they call their grievances are redressed'.

Haiderabad next rose. 'All concealment was thrown off', and 30,000 men, it was threatend, would march on Madras. Public funds were seized, correspondence interrupted—'in a word, civil war had commenced'. Then Barlow for once acted with some approach to vigour. He demanded from all officers a signed pledge of obedience, on pain of being sent inland if they refused. When not one-tenth consented to sign, he appealed to the sepoy to stand firm to their allegiance; they did so, and though Sir James Mackintosh wrote to John Malcolm that³⁰ 'were he asked whether the deposition of a Governor by military force or an appeal to private soldiers against their officers be the greater evil. I am compelled to own that I must hesitate', the sepoy's loyalty left the mutineers stranded. They had never allowed themselves to doubt that they would have their regiments with them. Lord Minto on going to Madras received 'a penitential

letter'. As every decade proved, there was a wide difference in the punishment meted out to mutineers, according to whether they were sepoys or British officers; only a handful of ringleaders were now court-martialled, having first been offered their choice of trial or dismissal. The court-martial resulted in several being cashiered. Much bitterness remained, and the Company officers sent to Coventry the King's officers, who held them 'mighty cheap'.³¹ Barlow's handling of the episode was considered unsatisfactory. It finished, whatever chance he had of being appointed Governor-General, and he went home in 1812.

Inside India, Minto's regime was one of quiet consolidation, with vigorous action against turbulent chieftains. The ablest to these, Jeswant Rao Holkar, went mad in 1808, and for three years was kept bound with ropes and fed with milk, dying October, 1811. Outside India, Lord Minto's government was one of brilliant conquest. As part of the war with Napoleon, he captured the islands of Bourbon and France (Mauritius). Whenever Napoleon compelled a European State into his system, England 'took charge' of that State's foreign possessions. Thus, she possessed for a few years the Moluccas and Java, the Governor-General himself accompanying the latter expedition and being present at the Dutch rout at Fort Cornelis, near Batavia. Gillespie of Vellore led the storm, which Minto describes (August 28, 1811):³²

'It really seems miraculous that mortal men could live in such a fire of round, grape, shells, and musketry long enough to pass deep trenches defended by pointed palisades inclining from the inner edge of the ditch outwards, force their way into redoubt after redoubt, till they were in possession of all the numerous works, which extend at least a mile....The slaughter was dreadful, both during the attack and in the pursuit....We have upwards of 5000 prisoners, including all the Europeans left alive....There never was such a rout'.

Java passed into British keeping, and the great Stamford Raffles was appointed lieutenant-governor. These dark slavery-ridden East Indian regions certainly needed cleaning up. Minto abolished execution by torture, and the brutal custom of compelling the families of the condemned to witness the malefactor's death, and afterwards selling them into bondage. Java entered on a period of prosperity and humane

administration. It was returned to the Dutch when general peace was made, at the end of the Napoleonic wars.

Lord Minto's most criticised action was that which he took against missionaries. The Company's territory being closed to them, they were established in the Danish settlement at Serampur, whence they issued pamphlets which were distributed in British India. Minto forbade propagandist preaching in Calcutta, and William Carey, the great Baptist leader, agreed to a censorship of their publications. In the latter demand Minto was not as unreasonable as clamour in London represented. To the Chairman of the Directors he wrote:

'Pray read especially the miserable stuff addressed to the Gentooes, in which without one word to convince or to satisfy the mind of the heathen reader, without proof or argument of any kind, the pages are filled with hell fire, and hell fire, and still hotter fire, denounced against a whole race of men for believing in the religion which they were taught by their fathers and mothers, and the truth of which it is simply impossible it should ever have entered into their minds to doubt. Is this the doctrine of our faith?....If there are two opinions among Christians on this point, I can only say that I am of the sect which believes that a just God will condemn no being without individual guilt....The remainder of this tract seems to aim principally at a general massacre of the Brahmins of this country. A total abolition of caste is openly preached. A proposal to efface a mark of caste from the foreheads of soldiers on parade has had its share in a massacre of christains....'

As that last sentence reminds us, Vellore had gone deep and into bitter remembrance.

In 1808, when England and Denmark were at war, Serampur was occupied by the Company. The Serampur missionaries were Baptists, and the Governor-General found them easier to persuade to be reasonable than he found the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, one of his own Presidency chaplains. Buchanan printed a memoir urging:

'An archbishop is wanted for India—a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his bishops, of ample revenue and extensive sway....We want something royal in a spiritual and temporal sense for the abject subjects of this great Eastern empire to look up to....When once our national Church shall have been confirmed in India, the members of that

Church will be the best qualified to advise the State as to the means by which from time to time the civilization of the natives is to be effected.'

So firmly did Mr. Buchanan believe in the efficacy of the mere sight of his sacred and exalted characters, that he was said to have exclaimed, 'Place the mitre on any head. Never fear, it will do good among the Hindoos! Clearly, long before Keble's sermon on 'national Apostasy' gave a date for the start of the Oxford Movement, there was a widespread *preparatio evangelica*.

Minto dealt also with characters whom no one has called sacred or exalted. In Moghul times, in Warren Hastings's time, in Lord Curzon's time, in our own time, dacoity—robbery with violence—had been rife in Bengal, especially in East Bengal, where natural conditions make it almost ineradicable. Dacoits are people who need not excite our pity:

'It is impossible to imagine, without seeing it, the horrid ascendancy they had obtained over the inhabitants....They had established a terrorism as perfect as that which was the foundation of the French republican power, and in truth the *sirdars*, or captains of the band, were esteemed and even called the *hakim* or ruling power, while the real government did not possess either authority or influence enough to obtain from the people the smallest aid towards their own protection....Men have been found with their limbs and half the flesh of their bodies consumed by slow fire, who persisted in saying that they had fallen into their own fire, or otherwise denying all knowledge of the event that could tend to the conviction or detection of the offenders. They knew, if they spoke, they would either themselves or the remaining members of their families be despatched the same evening. By these measures such as vigorous efficient government was erected by the banditti in these districts, that they could send a single messenger through the villages with regular lists of requisitions from the different houses and families—some to furnish grain, some forage, some horses, some two sons to join the gangs, some labourers to carry the plunder, or to bear torches, or to act as scouts; some were to send a wife or daughter to attend the gangs.'³³

Governor-General occupied with disposal of partonage or with vast imperial design had been too busy to be vexed. But Minto

'was not a little shocked, and could not help feeling some shame, when I became fully apprised of the dreadful disorders which afflicted countries under the very eye of Government; and for many months past it has been one of the principal objects to put this monstrous evil down....I am happy to say that hitherto the success has even exceeded my expectations. In Nuddeah, which was the principal seat of this evil, there has not been a single dacoity during the last months; and it is in that one district that the computed average of persons put to death in torture was seventy a month. Nine sirdars have been executed at one spot, and the impression of that example was remarkable. The people had come to think it impossible that the leader of an established gang should be punished, or at least capitally punished, and they looked on with fully as much awe as satisfaction on this proof of the supreme power of Government'.

The 'gangster' operates very similarly in East and West, and requires the same conditions for success and impunity.

This quiet, unassuming man has had much less than his due of praise. He was firm when firmness was wanted: he tightened up government when it had been rendered intolerably lax, and yet there was no return to the bullying arrogance of Lord Wellesley. He was amused by the pettifogging pompousness which he found enwrapping his position, and 'in the log kept for the benefit of the family circle at home' (who, we may hope, were worthy of it) he ridicules it with the mild ribaldry it merits:

'The first night I went to bed at Calcutta I was followed by fourteen persons in white muslin gowns into the dressingroom. One might have hoped that some of these were ladies; but on finding that there were as many turbans and black beards as gowns, I was very desirous that these bearded handmaids should leave me.....which with some trouble and perseverance I accomplished, and in that one room I enjoy a degree of privacy, but far from perfect. The doors are open, the partitions are open or transparent also, and it is the business of a certain number to keep an eye upon me, and see if I want the particular service which each is allowed by his caste to render me. It is same in bed; a set of these black men sleep and watch all night on the floor of the passage, and an orderly man of the bodyguard mounts guard at the door with Sepoys in almost all the rooms, and at all the staircases. These give you a regular military salute every time you stir out of your room or go up or down stairs, besides four or five with maces running

before you. I have gradually got rid of this troublesome nonsense, but enough remains and must remain to tease me and turn comfort out of doors....

As ease and informality of intercourse came into government correspondence, between the Governor-General and his higher officers. Government House became a habitable region: 'no other circle in Calcutta contained prettier women or abler men'.³⁴

Young Charles Metcalfe, in April, 1811, entered on his great work as Resident at Delhi, where he found the Moghul's family a heavy trial. As with Tipu's family at Vellore, there were rumours that the young bloods committed murder and robbery; they were reported to have killed an old woman behind the walls of what Kaye calls 'that great sty of pollution',³⁵ and we are given this glimpse of what must be called their amusements:³⁶ 'oiling their naked persons, then rushing with swords among the startled inmates of the Zenana, and forcibly carrying off their property'.

Ought the place to be allowed to continue the slave-trade, which Metcalfe had prohibited in Delhi (where also he prohibited suttee)? 'The truth struggled out but dimly from the murky recesses' of the labyrinth of buildings where a swam of several generations of the royal family coexisted, plotting and fighting among themselves. Blind, old Shah Alam was dead, and his successor complained that 'the tribute' paid him by the Company was insufficient. The young Englishman who had to reconcile his responsibility for a great city with his anxiety to respect fallen majesty found support in an administration so cordial and so full of commonsense and sense of the absurdity of the whole Indian scene (that comforting reflection which has kept the wiser Indians and wiser British alike sane). When Metcalfe lost two valued assistants, promoted elsewhere, Minto answered his protests by a 'ragging' which showed how complete was the confidence in the resident who was left to carry on with new and raw help:

'You will perceive that I entertained none other' (intention) 'than that of promoting the views in the service of two young gentlemen, whom, without knowing either personally, I esteemed and admired extremely.... With regard to the *Resident at Delhi*, I may as well confess that, having always had a very mean opinion of his abilities, and

thinking him a very unamiable character and dull companion, I did entertain a secret wish to bring him into disrepute, by depriving him of his most able and experienced coadjutors.....

‘As the whole ship’s company of the *Hussar* are your slaves, I may venture, without consulting them, to send you everything that is kind from the whole, of all ages, and both genders.

‘Believe me ever, my dear Metcalfe,
(being entitled to this familiarity by the *contract*).

Faithfully and affectionately yours.’

It is less than a decade since Lord Wellesley’s rule finished, yet we seem to have moved forward a whole century! Minto’s achievement was that he came to a government militarised and still medieval, and gave it the amenities of a civilized administration.

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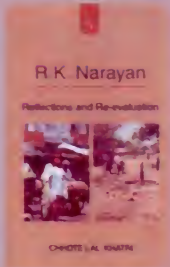
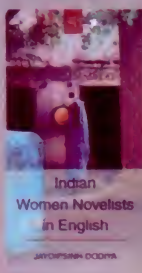
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